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New York State Historical Association



PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL
MEETING WITH CONSTITUTION AND
BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS . . .



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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

New York State Historical
Association

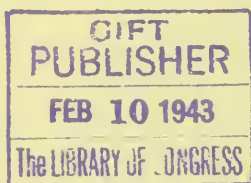
FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING WITH
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
AND LIST OF MEMBERS



PUBLISHED BY THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

Fifth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, Together with the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees.

The fifth annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held at the Fort William Henry Hotel, at Lake George, N. Y., August 25, 1903; the President, James A. Roberts, the officers and a quorum of the Association present.

The following papers were read:

Monograph: The Iroquois Confederacy; by Dr. Sherman Williams of Glens Falls, N. Y.

Monograph: General Herkimer; by Dr. Eugene W. Lyttle of Albany, N. Y.

Monograph: Father Jogues; by Rev. John W. Dolan of Johnstown, N. Y.

Monograph: Sir William Johnson; by Hon. Jeremiah Keck of Johnstown, N. Y., after which Dr. William Olin Stillman of Albany, addressed the Society upon the subject of the erection of a suitable monument to mark the field of the engagement upon which the Battle of Bennington took place, after which a business meeting of the Association was held, and the following named persons were elected trustees for the term of three years, viz.:

Hon. Hugh Hastings of Albany; Mr. Asahel R. Wing of Fort Edward; Mr. Elmer J. West of Glens Falls; Rev. John H. Brandow of Schuylerville; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe of Sandy Hill; Col. William L. Stone of Mt. Vernon; Mr. Morris Patterson

Ferris of New York city; Mr. George Grenville Benedict of Burlington, Vt.

The following nominating committee were duly nominated and elected, viz.: Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe of Sandy Hill, N. Y.; Hon. Frederick B. Richards of Ticonderoga, N. Y.; Mr. James A. Holden of Glens Falls, N. Y.

The meeting adjourned until three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, at which time the President's address was delivered by the Hon. James A. Roberts, after which the historical address upon "France and the American Revolution" was delivered by Dr. James Breck Perkins of Rochester, N. Y.

A vote of thanks was unanimously extended to all of the speakers who addressed the Association at this meeting, whereupon the Association duly adjourned.

At a meeting of the trustees of the Association held immediately thereafter

Present — The President, James A. Roberts, Dr. Daniel C. Farr, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, James A. Holden, Robert O. Bascom, Frederick B. Richards, Elwyn Seelye, Rev. William O. Stearns, Mr. Sherman Williams, Mr. Francis W. Halsey, Dr. Joseph E. King, Morris Patterson Ferris.

It was duly moved, seconded and carried that Dr. Daniel C. Farr, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and the Secretary be a committee upon program and arrangements for the ensuing year.

Mr. Frederick B. Richards of Ticonderoga, N. Y., read a communication from Mr. Wakeman upon the subject of "Marking Historic Spots," and after some discussion the matter was referred to a committee of which Mr. Richards was duly elected chairman with power to select his own associates.

The following named persons were duly elected members of the Association:

George McAuleny, No. 19 East Forty-seventh street, New York; Rev. W. H. P. Hatch, Hartford, N. Y.; George Grenville Bene-

dict, Burlington, Vt.; John Dwyer, Sandy Hill, N. Y.; J. D. Keating, Fort Edward, N. Y.; John B. Conway, Argyle, N. Y.; S. R. Stoddard, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Rev. Chas. W. Blake, Lake George, N. Y.; Thos. W. McArthur, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Richard Henry Greene, No. 233 Central West, New York city; Dr. William Olin Stillman, No. 287 State street, Albany, N. Y.; William W. Kline, No. 725 North Fifth street, Reading, Pa.

The Treasurer's report was read and adopted and sundry bills audited and ordered paid.

Dr. Sherman Williams of Glens Falls, N. Y., brought to the attention of the Association the importance of "marking spots of historic interest" in the vicinity of Lake George, Glens Falls, Sandy Hill and Fort Edward, and after consideration the following named committee were appointed to recommend to the Association what places, in their judgment, were of sufficient historic interest to be marked, and the committee were authorized to solicit and raise funds necessary for such purposes.

The following named persons were thereupon duly elected a committee for the purpose above mentioned: Dr. Sherman Williams, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Dr. Joseph E. King, after which the meeting adjourned.

R. O. BASCOM,
Secretary.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association, held at the Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, N. Y., on the 16th of January, 1904.

Present — Hon. James A. Roberts, President; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Second Vice-President; Robert O. Bascom, Secretary; F. B. Richards, Assistant Secretary; Rev. John A. Brandow, Trustee; Dr. Sherman Williams, Trustee.

The meeting was duly called to order by the President. Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe called the attention of the Board officially to the death of Dr. Daniel C. Farr, First Vice-President of the Association.

Mr. Ingalsbe spoke briefly upon the life and character of Dr. Daniel C. Farr, after which the Board of Trustees unanimously requested Judge Ingalsbe to prepare a memorial upon the death of Dr. Farr to be presented at the next annual meeting of the Association.

The Treasurer's report was read and adopted; a brief summary of the same is as follows:

Receipts to January 13, 1904.....	\$118 65
Disbursements	108 82

The following named persons were duly elected members of the Association:

Hon. William R. Hobbie, Greenwich, N. Y.; Nelson Gillispie, Hoosic Falls, N. Y.; Dr. Chas. Ingraham, Center Cambridge, N. Y.; Louise Hardenburgh Meredith, San Luis Obispo, Cal.

The President, the Secretary and Mr. Brandow were duly elected a committee to whom was referred the subject of the adoption of an official badge for the Association, and the committee were given power to order the same.

Dr. Sherman Williams was elected a member of the Committee on Program and Arrangements.

The subject of the time and place for the next annual meeting was left with the committee upon program, who were instructed to report at the next annual meeting as to the place for the meeting in 1905.

This committee was also entrusted with power to determine whether the annual meeting in 1904 should occupy one or two days, after which the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,
Secretary.

THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY.

DR. SHERMAN WILLIAMS.

SOMETIME during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries an offshoot of the great Dakota family began an eastward movement. These people are commonly spoken of as the Huron-Iroquois, though they are known by other names. The eastward movement was not a rapid one, and there seems to have been several places where they remained for a considerable time; this was especially the case in the Mississippi valley. From this point a portion of the people, whom we know as the Cherokees, moved southward, and occupied the mountain region of eastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, and western North Carolina. About the same time the Tuscaroras and Nottaways settled on the coast of southern Virginia and northern North Carolina.

Save for these diversions the Iroquois people kept together till they reached the Niagara river, from which point they spread out in a fan-shaped movement, covering the country from the Susquehanna river on the south, to the St. Lawrence on the north; but keeping a compact territory. On all sides of them were the Algonquins. It was, so to speak, an Iroquois island in an Algonquin sea.

How early these people broke up into separate nations or tribes is not known; but at this time we find the Onondagas, Oneidas, Mohawks and Hurons moving eastward along the north shore of Lake Ontario. The Hurons settled in the territory between the lake that bears their name and Lake Ontario. Along the northern shore of Lake Erie, and south of the western part of Lake Ontario, were what was known as the Neutral Nation; to the south of them, and south of Lake Erie, were the Eries. The Susquehannocks passed eastward into the valley that bears their name. The Cayugas and Senecas were south of Lake Ontario,

and east of the Eries. The Oneidas, Onondagas and Mohawks kept along the north shore of Lake Ontario, and passed into the valley of the St. Lawrence. The Mohawks were the most numerous and powerful of these tribes and remained longest in that country. Just when the other tribes entered the State of New York is not certain, but the Oneidas settled in this State a considerable time before the Mohawks left Canada. The Onondagas retraced their steps and first settled in New York near Oswego. Not very much is known of the various movements of the Iroquois before their final settlement in this State.

When the Mohawks settled in the valley of the St. Lawrence they made their capital at Quebec. Their kindred, the Hurons, made their capital at Montreal, on the island. They named their capital Hochelaga. At a later period the Mohawks and Hurons engaged in war and the Hurons were driven out and the Mohawks occupied Hochelaga as their capital. It is probable that the Mohawks were at this time at the height of their power. They dominated the country from the lower St. Lawrence valley to the headwaters of the Mohawk. Vermont and the Adirondacks were their hunting grounds. They were continually at war with some of the surrounding tribes. For some reason, not now known, the Hurons and all the northern Algonquin tribes joined in war against the Mohawks. A long and bitter contest followed, which resulted in the expulsion of the Mohawks. It is said that disease and famine were added to the misfortunes of war. Be this as it may they were driven out of the country, and greatly reduced in numbers, and somewhat humbled in spirit, they settled just to the east of their kindred, the Oneidas, in the valley that still bears their name. Just when this occurred is not known, but when Cartier was in Canada, in 1535, he found a Mohawk town at Montreal and when Champlain came, in 1609, the place was deserted; so their expulsion must have occurred between these dates.

The Oneidas were a dependency of the Mohawks and the relation between them must have been close. When the Onondagas entered New York they must have come more or less in contact with the Oneidas who were their neighbors on the east. The same must have been true in regard to their western neighbors,

the Cayugas. The Senecas were as closely related to the Cayugas as were the Mohawks to the Oneidas. It will be seen, therefore, that at this early day it is more than possible that there was some understanding between these kindred people, and that the league may have had its beginning as early as 1450, as is claimed by some writers. It is probable that the growth of such a league among such a rude people as were the Iroquois would be a plant of very slow growth.

It is now generally believed that the league was not fully perfected earlier than 1570.

Doubtless the purpose of the confederacy was to put an end to internal warfare and to strengthen themselves against outside foes. An attempt was made to bring all the Iroquois people into the confederacy, but only the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas joined. They were known as the Five Nations till the Tuscaroras came up from the south and entered the confederacy after which they were spoken of as the Six Nations. The feeling against the Iroquois tribes who would not join the confederacy was very bitter. They were regarded as traitors and pursued as relentlessly as were the Algonquins. They were all ultimately subdued or exterminated.

When the white people first came to this country the Iroquois dominated nearly all the country east of the Mississippi, and from the St. Lawrence on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. Some of the tribes had been practically exterminated, the few survivors being adopted into some one of the Iroquois nations. Other tribes had been conquered. In such cases a few of the Iroquois people usually dwelt with the subjugated people to keep watch upon their actions. On every hand the Iroquois were feared. They had driven the Mohegans into the valley of the Connecticut and so completely broken their spirit, that if a single Iroquois appeared in their country they would flee in terror crying, "A Mohawk! A Mohawk!"

The Iroquois, at this time, had exterminated their old enemies, the Adirondacks, the Algonquin tribe with whom they first came in contact when they entered the valley of the St. Lawrence. The Hurons and the remaining Algonquin tribes on the north kept up a continual war against them.

This was the condition of affairs when, in 1609, Champlain came to Canada. He was very desirous of cultivating friendly relations with the Indians of Canada, so he accompanied a war party of Hurons and Algonquins on an expedition against the Mohawks.

They passed up the Richelieu river and through Lake Champlain to a point near Ticonderoga, where they met a war party of Mohawks largely outnumbering them, but such was the confidence of the Algonquins in Champlain that they did not hesitate to make an attack. In the fight which followed Champlain fired his musket, which he had loaded with slugs, and killed one Mohawk chief and wounded others. His two white companions fired with similar results. It was the first contact of the Iroquois with white men. They were wholly ignorant of fire-arms. It is not to be wondered at that they fled in terror when they saw their companions falling dead without any cause that they could comprehend.

If the shot fired by Champlain was not like that of the embattled farmers at Concord "heard round the world," it, at least, reverberated here for a century and a half, and possibly changed the destinies of a continent. Their defeat at the hands of Champlain rankled in the breasts of the Iroquois. They felt it to be a disgrace that must be washed out at all hazards, and at any cost, but for the time being they felt themselves powerless.

The same year that Champlain passed down the lake that has since borne his name Hudson entered the harbor of New York and passed up the river to the head of navigation. The Dutch settlements soon followed and the Iroquois obtained fire-arms from the Dutch in trade with them, and in course of time became skilled in their use. Thirty-three years after their defeat by Champlain, when, perhaps, not one of the number engaged in the conflict was still living, the Iroquois felt that the time had come to wash the disgrace from their memory, and take full revenge for the insult put upon them. They fitted out a great expedition and invaded Canada. They came near wiping out the French settlements and destroying the Algonquin nation, and very likely would have done so but for the timely arrival of troops from

France. As it was they killed great numbers and took many prisoners, among the number the noted and devoted Jesuit missionary, Father Jogues. This expedition was the beginning of a series of incursions into Canada that were carried on with such persistence and ferocity that a writer of the time says, "A man could neither hunt, fish, fell a tree nor till the soil in all Canada without danger of being murdered by some lurking Iroquois." It was also said that the Iroquois were "the scourge of God upon the aborigines of the continent." They exterminated the Eries, overthrew one Algonquin tribe after another, and finally drove the remaining ones under the walls of Quebec for protection; but even here they were not safe. They drove them out of the valley of the St. Lawrence and pursued them to the shores of Lake Superior where they massacred great numbers of them at a place still known as Point Iroquois.

The Iroquois were good haters and had long memories. An injury was never forgotten nor forgiven. They thought nothing of a journey of a thousand miles, if at the end of it they could satisfy their vengeance. A single Iroquois, or a small party of them, would follow an enemy for days or weeks, waiting and watching for a favorable moment of attack.

They were the strongest, in many ways the noblest, and altogether the most interesting aboriginal people on this continent north of Mexico. They had a strong government, made permanent conquests and established colonies. It is interesting to study some of the causes of their superiority. They were never a numerous people. It is doubtful if their numbers ever reached twenty thousand, but they were by far the most warlike Indians east of the Mississippi. They have been called "The Romans of the West." They proudly called themselves "Ongwe-honwe," "men surpassing all others." They were brave in battle, skilled as diplomats and noted as orators. With them war was the business of life. The council was a recreation, and hunting, fishing and trapping something that had to be done. They had great war captains, like Brant and King Hendrick; noted orators, such as Red Jacket and Logan. Of the latter Jefferson said his appeal to the white race was without a rival.

The location of the Iroquois was an element of power of great consequence. They were situated on high ground where streams had their origin that found their final outlet in the great lakes, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, New York, Delaware and Chesapeake bays, and by the way of the Ohio river, the Mississippi river and the Gulf of Mexico. In their light birch bark canoes, by means of short carries, they could reach, by water, almost any part of the great territory that they dominated. Their attacks could be made so suddenly that their enemies had no warning of their coming, and were, therefore, unprepared to meet them. They held what General Grant once declared to be the military key of the continent.

But neither their location, nor their character, nor both combined, could have made them as pre-eminent as they were without their form of government, which was a most remarkable organization for savages to effect. It resembled our own to a considerable extent. Each nation was a distinct republic so far as its own domestic affairs were concerned, but all were bound together in matters of general interest. Each nation was divided into eight clans known as the Wolf, the Bear, the Beaver, the Turtle, the Deer, the Snipe, the Heron and the Hawk. There were in each nation at least eight principal sachems, one for each clan. In making treaties the sachems affixed to the document a rude drawing of the animal representing their clan. This was called their totem. All told there were fifty sachems divided among the nations as follows: The Onondagas, fourteen; the Cayugas, ten; the Mohawks and Oneidas, nine each, and the Senecas, eight. When the Tuscaroras joined the league they were allowed sachems for their own local affairs, but they were not permitted to become members of the general council and so have a part in the affairs of the confederacy. The fifty sachems constituted what was known as the Council of the League. They combined the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the nation.

The meetings of the council were held annually, in the autumn, at Onondaga. Aside from these regular meetings special meetings might be called at any time or place. The council declared war, made peace, received ambassadors, entered into treaties, in a word decided all matters of political, military, social and reli-

gious action. In order to secure favorable action on any question it was necessary to have an unanimous vote of all the sachems present. In debate a speaker was never interrupted, and there rarely was any heat. Each presented his views in the best manner he could, usually repeating the substance of all that had been said by those who preceded him. This habit frequently made their debates tediously long. Important councils would last for days.

The sachems as a body managed the civil affairs of the league, and the sachems of each nation performed the same service for their respective people. The office of sachem was hereditary, but upon the death of a sachem his successor did not enter upon the duties of his office till he had been "raised" with proper ceremonies by the council. The name as well as the office was hereditary, each sachem bearing the name of his predecessor.

No sachem could, in his official capacity, go to war. If he wished to take part in a war he must, for the time being, lay aside his civil authority.

Aside from the council already mentioned there was, during a portion of the existence of the confederacy, what was known as the Great Council, consisting of one member from each of the nations except the Senecas who were allowed two because of their greater numbers. This council had only advisory powers.

Besides the sachems there were war chiefs chosen because of their merit. This office was not hereditary, nor was the number of chiefs limited. They were the military leaders. When war was declared it was sometimes carried on by means of great expeditions carefully planned by the nation, but more frequently the expeditions were individual matters. Some chief would decide on an expedition and call for volunteers. The party would be large or small, as the chief was capable, and the bitterness toward the enemy was great, or the reverse. If several chiefs set out on an expedition to the same point, each would be independent in his movements, unless some strong will or persuasive personage secured general control for the time being by common consent. It is evident that with this method no large number could be induced to enter upon a war that was not popular.

In this respect the Iroquois had the most democratic government imaginable.

The chiefs achieved their position through their own valor, skill or ability. This class was made up of the best talent of the nation. Practically all the prominent warriors and orators of the Iroquois belonged to it. Logan was the only sachem to make a name in history. Neither the elected war chief nor the hereditary sachem lived in any way better than his fellows. In fact, he frequently was worse off because his position led him to be liberal in the care of others, even to the extent of impoverishing himself. In the Iroquois Confederacy there was no aristocracy, though the sachemship seemed to be of that nature. There was no accumulation of wealth for individual welfare. There was no biting poverty, save when all were poor together.

Here, as has been the case with many civilized nations, the military authority sometimes overruled the civil. The war chiefs from time to time added to their power till they were nearly if not quite equal to the sachems.

The laws governing marriage and descent had an important bearing upon the civil life of the Iroquois. Originally the Wolf, Bear, Beaver and Turtle clans were regarded as brothers, as were also the Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk clans. All marriages were between members of the first group with members of the second.

Not only was one forbidden to marry one belonging to his clan or group of clans, but he must not marry a member of his own tribe, though belonging to the other group of clans. This custom was greatly modified as time went on, but at no time could one marry a member of his own clan, and it was not common to marry a member of the same tribe. This practice bound the nations firmly together with the ties of kinship.

The line of descent was through the woman instead of the man as in our case. A son could inherit neither title nor property from his father, it going to the father's brother or other relative instead. All inheritance came through the mother. This resulted in a very democratic distribution. When a woman married she took her husband home to her tribe and clan, but he never became a

member of either, though his children did. While, in many ways, the wife was the slave of her husband, doing nearly all the hard work of the house, and tilling the fields, yet she ruled the house, and if her husband proved lazy and did not do his share in providing for his family, or for the general welfare, she might at any time order him to take his blanket and leave. If he was wise he obeyed the order. After all life bore quite as severely upon the men as upon the women. They hunted for food, spent long seasons in the severe work of trapping and protected their territory from their enemies.

All the property of the men except the arms he used, belonged to the wife. The women, old men and boys cultivated the soil and gathered the fuel. Owing to warfare and the hard life led by the men, the women were more numerous than the men in all the tribes. In the lodge the Indian was a man of few words. He acknowledged the woman's right to rule there. If she was offended the Indian smiled. If he was offended he walked out.

There was no individual ownership of land. Changes of location were quite frequent. In the course of ten or a dozen years the bark covering of their houses would become rotten, the whole house would be infested with vermin, the soil would become somewhat exhausted, and available fire wood would become scarce.

The change of location involved much hard work. Their tools were rude and few in number. Everything had to be carried by hand. Land must be cleared, and they had no tools of metal. Houses must be erected and the work of constructing the frames, stripping and drying the bark was a slow and laborious process for a people with their limited facilities for work.

The Indians had no family names. A single name was given when young and was replaced by another at maturity. Power to change the name at maturity rested primarily with the chief, but it might be done by mother, brother or sister, but never by the father. It was usually done without the consent or even knowledge of the person concerned. An Iroquois was never addressed by his name, but always as "my brother" or "my uncle."

The Iroquois long house was wholly unlike the houses of any other Indians. It was made by setting two double parallel rows

of saplings in the ground and bending their tops together. The ends were made in the same way. This slender frame work was strengthened by binding to it other saplings at right angles to the first. The frame was then covered with strips of bark laid as we lay shingles, but the strips of bark were much larger than shingles. The bark of the elm tree was generally used. The strips of bark were held in place by having saplings bound across them. Strings and ropes made of the fibre of bark were used in the construction of the houses. The long house was from eighteen to twenty-four feet wide and from thirty to one hundred, and sometimes even more, feet in length. On the inside they were arranged something like a sleeping car with the berths made up but the curtains left out. In the longer houses there were cross partitions about every twenty feet. In each section there would be eight bunks, four on each side. These places were used for sleeping at night, in the daytime for sitting. Some of them were at all times used for store rooms. Corn, braided in trusses, hung from the ceiling. Other supplies were suspended in the same manner. There was a fire on the floor in the center of the apartment. The smoke escaped through a hole in the roof. It has been commonly supposed that there were as many families in a house as there were sets of apartments, but recent writers have questioned this. They suppose that as a rule there was only one family in a house, the additional room being for storage of supplies or other purposes.

There is much else of which I would like to speak, the games, industries, inventions, morals, religion and feasts of the Iroquois, and especially of their use of wampum, but I fear I have already exceeded the time allotted me.

I do, however, in closing, want to make a plea for the study of the lives of these people in our schools. They were the original inhabitants of our great State. They stood as a bulwark for the protection of the early settlers against the French and Algonquins. But for them the settlement of our State would have been greatly delayed, and it is quite probable that this country, at least most of our State, and the great northwest, would have been French in manners, customs and laws, if not in race.

NICHOLAS HERKIMER.

BY EUGENE W. LYTTLE.

BENTON, in his history of Herkimer county, says of Nicholas Herkimer, "Although twice married, he left no children at his death, and his family papers have been scattered, lost and destroyed so that at this day we are left much in the dark as to his early history."

B. J. Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, published in 1851 from notes made in 1848, says: "I was unsuccessful in my search for information respecting the career of General Herkimer in youth and early manhood. None of his family are residents in the vicinity (Little Falls) nor could I ascertain where any of his lineal descendants reside. His family was among the early settlers of German Flats and though opulent, according to the standard of the times, he seems to have been quite uneducated. An old man whom I saw near the Flats remembered him as a large, square-built Dutchman."

E. B. O'Callaghan in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. 8, p. 720, thus sketches Herkimer's life:

"General Herkimer was the oldest son of Johan Jost Herkimer, a Palatine and one of the original patentees of Burnet's Field,

NOTE.—The father of Nicholas Herkimer was Johan Jost Herkimer, a Palatine, who died in 1775. According to Benton's *History of Herkimer County*, Johan Jost Herkimer had five sons and eight daughters. The names of the sons were Nicolas, Henry, Johan Jost, George and John, and the names of the daughters Elizabeth, Barbara, Laura, Delia, Catherine, Anna, Gertruyd and Anna Maria. Nicolas and John died leaving no children, George left two sons, John and Joseph; Henry left five sons, Joseph, Nicolas, Abraham, George and Henry. Johan Jost was a Tory and fled to Canada at the outbreak of the Revolution, and his property was confiscated. Joseph, the son of George, left one son, who, until about 1850, resided at Little Falls.

Herkimer county, N. Y. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the Schenectady militia 5 January, 1758, and commanded Fort Herkimer that year when the French and Indians attacked German Flats. In 1760 he lived in the Canajoharie district; 1775 he was colonel of 1st battalion militia in Tryon county and represented his district in the County Committee of Safety of which he was chairman. On the 5th September, 1776, he was commissioned Brigadier-General of the Tryon county militia by the Convention of the State of New York, and 6 August, 1777, commanded the American forces at the battle of Oriskany where he received a ball that fractured his leg. After the action he was conveyed to his home in the present town of Danube a few miles east of Little Falls, where the limb was unskilfully amputated, in consequence of which he died some ten days after in about the 50th year of his age. General Herkimer was twice married."

Brief as these sketches are, the last fifty years has added little to the story of Herkimer's life. The publication of the Documentary History of New York and the investigations of local historical societies have thrown some interesting side lights, and on these the biographer must mainly rely.

Johan Jost Herchheimer, the father of Nicolas Herchheimer, was a Palatine and to the student of European history that statement suggests much. It tells of the Thirty Years' War which reduced the population of the Palatinate from 500,000 to 48,000, and made cannibals of Christian people, of religious changes forced upon a people with almost every successive elector, of the refuge afforded to the persecuted Huguenots on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of the terrible vengeance of Louis XIV, who thrice within twenty-two years made a desert of the lands he was not strong enough to hold. At length after a century of war and pillage and persecution such as no other country ever endured, the wretched Palatines emigrated to England and Holland and thence turned their faces to the New World. Between the years 1717 and 1747, over 30,000 Palatines and neighboring Germans came to Pennsylvania alone. The first migrations, however, did not go to Pennsylvania. Some went to North Carolina,

some to Virginia, and between 3,000 and 4,000 in three different migrations settled in New York. In 1709, a small colony was placed at Newburgh. In 1710, Governor Hunter brought over about 3,000 who were settled in New York city and on lands on both sides of the Hudson within the boundaries of Livingston Manor. A still later migration came to New York in 1722. Misfortunes attended the emigrants brought over by Governor Hunter. An ill-considered business venture and a misunderstanding with the British government made the lot of the Palatines on the Hudson still more deplorable, bankrupted Governor Hunter and embittered him unreasonably toward the Palatines whom he considered the cause of his misfortunes. So, in 1712, in the dead of winter, about fifty families journeyed from the banks of the Hudson to the valley of the Schoharie where they bought lands of the Indians. These were followed by others. A census of the Palatines, taken in 1718, states that 170 families, excluding widows and orphans were settled at Schoharie. The Palatines, at Schoharie, failed to secure a patent for the lands they had purchased of the Indians, but patents for their land were obtained from the colonial government of New York, by certain land sharks at Albany, who forced the Schoharie Palatines to pay rent. Stung by this fresh injustice, many of them emigrated to Pennsylvania and some secured a patent from Governor Burnet, the successor of Governor Hunter, to lands on the Mohawk west of Little Falls in a tract known as Burnet's Field. Here they served as a bulwark to protect the settlements at Schenectady and Albany from the raids of the French and Indians. That they were located there for that very purpose there can be no doubt. Governor Burnet writes: "I did intend to settle the Palatines as far as I could in the middle of our Indians, but finding they could not be brought to that, I have granted their own request which was to have a license to purchase of the nearest Indians which are the Mohawks, which I have yielded them with this condition, that it be not nearer than a fall in the Mohoek's river (Little Falls), which is forty miles above Fort Hunter and four score from Albany, by which the frontier will be much extended." (Col. Hist. N. Y. Vol., v. 634.)

One writer ironically says that the Palatines were thus placed because they had become accustomed in the Palatinate to having their homes destroyed.

Records show that, in 1725, a patent was granted to William Burnet, Jr., and ninety-two others to lands on both sides of the Mohawk, extending west twenty-four miles from Little Falls. These ninety-two others were Palatines, among whom were Jough Erghemer, Johan Jost Erghemar, Madaldna Erghemar and Catharina Erghemar. Governor Burnet appears to have figured in this transaction simply to facilitate the settlement of the Palatines. This Johan Jost Erghemar was the father of General Nicolas Herkimer. Whether Johan Jost came in the migration of 1710 and had passed through the sad experience of his fellow Palatines on the Hudson and in Schoharie, or whether he came in the migration of 1722, is a matter of doubt. Judge Robert Earl, in a paper read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, in 1898, says that Johan Jost Herkimer was one of the Schoharie emigrants. Sanford H. Cobb, in his history of the Palatines, published in 1897, distinctly states that the father of Nicolas Herkimer came in the migration of 1722. Unfortunately neither writer gives authority for the statement made.

S. L. Frey, in the *Magazine of American History*, 1882, relates a family tradition that Johan Jost Herkimer was the first settler of Herkimer county; that he and his wife carried on their backs all their effects, including fifty pounds of wheat and their infant child (Nicolas) from Schenectady to German Flats, in 1722; that the Indians first refused them permission to settle, but were won over by a feat of great strength performed by Johan Jost Herkimer, whom they afterward called the "Great Bear."

At any rate, Johan Jost Herkimer obtained "lot No. 36 in Burnet's Field, one-half mile east of the stone shurch at Fort Herkimer, and there built and lived for many years. While his children were still young, he built a stone mansion three-quarters of a mile west of the stone church, and this house, before the year 1756, was included within the English fortification known as Fort Herkimer." This fort became a refuge for the Palatines of German Flats during Belletre's raid in 1757, and was com-

manded by Lieutenant Nicolas Herkimer, in 1758, when the French and Indians again raided the upper Mohawk valley and killed thirty of the inhabitants. Johan Jost Herkimer probably furnished supplies for Fort Herkimer. No doubt he also transported goods for Indian traders. In those days all goods were carried up the Mohawk in flat boats to Little Falls where they were unloaded, carried above the falls, reloaded on flat boats, taken up the Mohawk to the present site of Rome, again carried a short distance to Woods creek, thence to Oneida lake and down the Oswego river. In 1727, Governor Burnet built a fort at Oswego which was garrisoned by twenty-five soldiers and a surgeon. This fort served not only a military but a commercial purpose, as it encouraged the fur trade of the Indians to follow the Mohawk instead of the Montreal route. As early as 1728, an appropriation was made to Johan Jost Herkimer for transporting goods. A contract to victual the fort at Oswego was let, in 1737, to Johan Jost Herkimer, with two others, and this contract was renewed in 1740, 1742 and again in 1744. In 1748, payment was made of £758 3s. to Johan Jost Petrie and Johan Jost Herkimer for supplies furnished. The father of General Herkimer was something of a land speculator. His name appears frequently in the colonial records from 1754 to 1768, in petitions to purchase various tracts from the Indians. In 1760, he conveyed 500 acres of land in the town of Danube, on the south side of the Mohawk, a few miles east of Little Falls, to his son Nicolas. Thither Nicolas removed and built him the red brick house in which he died, and by the side of which his monument stands. This house is plainly seen from trains on the New York Central road.

NOTE.—It will be noted that the name of Herkimer is variously spelled in the documentary history of the colony. In the patent it is Erghemar. Johan Jost and Nicolas appear to have signed their names Herchheimer, which was doubtless the real German way of spelling, and this, in course of time, became anglicized to Herkimer. No less than ten different spellings are found for the name, but this fact need occasion no surprise. Recording officers were English, and their ears were unaccustomed to the German and ignorant of the values of German consonants and vowels. Indeed, in the colonial records of Pennsylvania, we find complaint made by the officials of the difficulty of correctly spelling these German names.

Johan Jost Herkimer died in 1775, "in those days considered a wealthy man possessing much land and chattels, including slaves."

Of General Herkimer's life, prior to the Revolution, almost nothing is known save the fact already mentioned, that he commanded Fort Herkimer in 1758. In general, the relations of the Mohawks and the Palatines were friendly. The Mohawk chief, Brant, and Nicolas Herkimer were good friends. The Mohawks were not numerous. According to the Rev. Charles Inglis, assistant rector of Trinity, who wrote in 1770, the Mohawks were settled in three villages and numbered about 420 souls. Just west of them were 600 Oneidas. However, the Mohawks could not help looking with jealous eyes on their own decreasing numbers and on the rapidly growing villages of Palatines. Just prior to the Revolution complaints were made by the Mohawks to Sir William Johnson of Palatine encroachments, and it is not unlikely that jealousy was a potent factor in causing the Mohawks to attach themselves to the royalist cause.

From the French and their Indian allies the Palatines, as we have seen, suffered two serious raids, and they were by no means exempt from vexations at the hands of the English soldiery during the French and Indian wars. From the unpublished Johnson papers preserved in the State Library it appears that Sir William Johnson ordered Han Jost Petrie, Han Jost Herkimer and John Conrad to cut a road from Rome to Oswego. Han Jost Herkimer in a letter excusing himself from compliance, complains severely of the wanton acts of the British soldiery, and says that his presence at home is absolutely necessary to protect his property.

As a rule the Palatines were ignorant and superstitious, but frugal and industrious. They were overfond of horses. In a common wooden trencher was poured the pot of samp and around this the family gathered dividing the food by imaginary lines and pouring in milk as excavations were made in the pudding. The imaginary lines were a source of no little trouble in a large family of hungry children. The Palatines spoke a patois known as Mohawk Dutch. As late as 1802, the Rev. John Taylor writes of the upper portion of the Mohawk valley: "This place appears to be a perfect Babel as to language * * * the articulation of

even New England people is injured by their being intermingled with the Dutch, Irish and Scotch."

B. J. Lossing speaks of General Herkimer as uneducated. Unlettered Herkimer was, and his knowledge of English slight, as his order to Peter Bellinger, now in possession of the Oneida County Historical Society, shows. Uneducated he was not. No man schooled to wrest a living from the savage wilderness, to protect himself and his family on a wild frontier, to gain leadership among his neighbors and to think clearly on vital political issues should be called uneducated. Herkimer had the very kind of training that produced a Washington and a Lincoln. As a people the Palatines were freedom-loving. Through a century of unparalleled suffering in the old world and half a century of less bitter experience in the new, they had come to hate the tyranny of princes and the oppressions of a hired soldiery. Great men are the crystals of social experience. Out of the Egyptian bondage a Moses, out of centuries of aristocratic misrule a Caesar, and out of the feudal ills of the Palatinate, the oppressions of Louis XIV, and the exactions of colonial governors came a Herkimer and a Peter Zenger.

In 1772, Tryon county had been set off from Albany county. Its eastern boundary was a north and south line running through the middle of what is now Schoharie county. It embraced all of New York west of that line. The capital and county seat was Johnstown in the eastern portion. The total population at the time of the Revolution may have been 10,000, composed largely of Dutch, Irish, Scotch and Palatines. The Johnsons with their Irish and Scotch followers around Johnstown and Fonda were loyalists. The Palatines of the western portion

HERKIMER'S ORDER TO PETER BELLINGER.

Ser you will order your bodellgen do mercks immiedettleh do ford edouard wid for das profesen and amonieschen fied for an betell dis zu will du ben yur berrell for am frind.

NICOLAS HERCHHEIMER.

to carnell piedir bellinger
ad de flats
Ocober 18, 1776

of the county were for the most part patriots. Dr. Franklin said, before the House of Commons, in 1776, that the Germans of Pennsylvania were more dissatisfied with the Stamp Act than the English colonists, and the same sentiments were shared by the Palatines of Tryon county. In August, 1774, after the Boston Port Bill went into effect, a meeting of the Palatine district passed patriotic resolutions, promised support to the Continental Congress, and appointed a standing committee of safety. In the spring of 1775 the royalists met at Johnstown, drew up and circulated a declaration avowing *opposition* to the Continental Congress. This declaration was signed by the magistrates and grand jury of Tryon county. Sir John Johnson, at Johnstown, and Colonel Guy Johnson, at Guy Park, began arming retainers, fortifying their houses, stopping travelers, breaking up patriot meetings and intriguing with the Iroquois Confederacy. Nowhere in the colonies was division of sentiment sharper than in the Mohawk valley. It was estimated at the close of the Revolution that one-third of the inhabitants of the valley had fled to Canada, and that one-third had been killed.

To the dwellers in the Mohawk, as well as to the patriots generally, the attitude of the Iroquois, those far-famed warriors, was a matter of great concern. It seemed likely from the first that they would follow the fortunes of the Johnson family, but unceasing efforts were made by the colonial leaders to keep them neutral, and it was vainly hoped for a time that the Johnsons might be led to espouse the patriot cause. The last of May, 1775, Colonel Guy Johnson withdrew with his followers from Guy Park westward to Cosby's Manor, and summoned a general council of the Iroquois, which met later at Ontario. Immediately the Committee of Safety of Tryon county assembled and among the delegates was Nicolas Herkimer, chairman of the Canajoharie district. This committee drew up a set of resolutions in which was expressed the hope that the Indians would be kept neutral, and a vigorous protest was made against the interference of Johnson's followers in preventing a peaceful assembly of patriots of the Mohawk district. These resolutions were delivered by Colonel Herkimer to Guy Johnson then at Cosby's Manor. Johnson's answer was intended to allay

the fears of the patriots, but his actions belied his words. Colonel Johnson soon withdrew from Cosby's Manor to Fort Stanwix, thence to Ontario and Oswego, where he held councils of the Indians, and thence to Montreal, where as Indian superintendent he directed the cruel warfare that desolated the houses of his former neighbors. After the flight of Guy Johnson, Sir John Johnson remained at Johnson Hall, Johnstown, and carried on a secret correspondence with his relative at Montreal. His actions were so suspicious that General Schuyler came into Tryon county with a small guard; Colonel Herkimer ordered out the militia and January, 1776, they arrested Sir John Johnson. Johnson was soon after paroled but broke his parole and also fled to Canada. For eighteen months the inhabitants of the Mohawk valley enjoyed comparative quiet, but in June, 1777, the Oneida chieftain, Brant, suddenly appeared at Unadilla and began driving off cattle and terrorizing the inhabitants. Herkimer, who had been made a brigadier in 1776, marched to meet Brant with 380 militia. His purpose was to stop the depredations, and, if possible, to win Brant's neutrality. Two conferences were held with Brant, and hostilities were narrowly averted. Herkimer's force was probably superior to Brant's but it would hardly have been good policy for Herkimer to attack Brant then, though Brant declared his intention of adhering to the King's cause. There was hope at that time that the other Iroquois tribes with the exception of the Mohawks might be kept neutral. An attack on Brant at that time might have brought the whole Iroquois Confederacy upon the unprotected homes of the colonists. Early in 1777, it became evident that New York State would become the theatre of extensive military operations. Burgoyne was in Canada massing forces and collecting supplies for his descent through the Champlain valley. The Mohawk valley was particularly adapted to be a route of secondary invasion, because its patriotic population and fertile fields were sources of strength to the colonial armies. To protect this valley Colonel Gansevoort was ordered in April, 1777, to go to Fort Schuyler, more commonly known as Fort Stanwix, repair the fortifications there and hold the fort at all hazards. This Fort Schuyler stood within the present boundaries of Rome,

and guarded the carry from the Mohawk to Wood's creek. July fifth General Burgoyne captured Ticonderoga, and began his fateful journey by way of Whitehall to Fort Edward, where the American army had rendezvoused. The fall of Ticonderoga brought terror to the inhabitants of New York, and the patriots of the Mohawk valley were still further alarmed by the news brought by Thomas Spencer an Oneida chieftain on July fifteenth, that a force of 1,700 English regulars, Tories and Indians were at Oswego, intending to march on Fort Schuyler and thence through the Mohawk valley to Albany. Central New York was panic stricken. Many of the fighting men were with General Schuyler at Fort Edward. Many whose faith was weak now fled to the Tories. Two hundred militia were ordered to strengthen Fort Schuyler; only a part obeyed. Two companies of continental troops were ordered to repair to the fort and refused to go. At this crisis, General Nicolas Herkimer issued a stirring proclamation setting forth the perils that threatened and commanding all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to assemble to repel the invasion. In a few days he was in command of 800 militia, and set out on a march of fifty odd miles to relieve Fort Schuyler, which had been invested by St. Leger on the third of August. On the morning of August sixth, Herkimer's undisciplined troops were within a few miles of the beleaguered fort. Scouts had been sent ahead to inform the garrison that relief was coming and advising that a sortie be made from the fort when Herkimer's militia should engage the enemy. A signal of guns from the fort was to inform Herkimer as soon as his scouts had gained entrance and delivered their message. Herkimer intended to await this signal before breaking camp. But at this crisis a mutiny broke out. The younger men, impatient of delay, urged an immediate march. Colonels Cox and Parish were specially insistent. Herkimer replied, "I am placed over you as a father and a guardian, and shall not lead you into difficulties from which I may not be able to extricate you." Taunted at length with being a coward and Tory, a taunt that stung severely because his brother Han Jost was in the Tory ranks, Herkimer gave the order to march. In thus acting against his better judgment, the hero

of Oriskany laid himself open to a charge of weakness, but it is entirely possible that if he had not moved he would have lost control of his forces. His neglect to send out scouting parties, though informed of an intended ambush, seems less excusable, but was doubtless due also to the impatience of his troops, whose friends were shut up in the fort and in peril of massacre.

The story of the ambushade at Oriskany, of that deadliest battle of the Revolution, where one-third of the raw militia lost their lives, of Herkimer's coolness in danger and in pain, of his subsequent heroic death, has been told too often to bear repetition. Looked at in one way the battle of Oriskany was a small affair, so was Lexington. Viewed in the light of subsequent events, Oriskany helped in no small measure to spoil Burgoyne's campaign, to save New York State for the patriot's cause and to win the alliance of France.

FATHER JOGUES.

REV. JOHN W. DOLAN.*

I SAAC JOGUES was born at Orleans, in France, January 10, 1607, of a worthy family of that city, some of whose descendants still live there to perpetuate the memory and example of his apostolic heroism.

His father's death left him when quite young to the exclusive care of his mother, Frances de Saint Mesmin, who was quite as solicitous as she was competent to form his heart to piety while she instructed his mind in the first elements of knowledge. From his earliest years he manifested, as a result of her maternal training, the meekness suggested by the name he had received in baptism, and the chivalrous endurance of suffering which later characterized his missionary career.

When ten years old he entered the school which the Jesuits had opened that very year, 1617, in his native city, and remained under their tutelage, making what we would now term his grammar and college studies, until the summer of the year 1624, when he had finished the class of rhetoric and decided to determine and prepare for his career in life.

We can readily understand why a young man of Jogues's disposition and acquirements would be led to embrace an apostolic life. The age was one of exploration and missionary enterprise. Nations were vying with one another in the discovery of new territory, and Catholic monarchs were still inspired with the desire to spread the light of faith among savage and heathen peoples! Even the Reformation so-called had not blighted the spirit of chivalry, though it had diverted the energies and the valor of

* Father John W. Dolan, of St. Patrick's Catholic church, Johnstown, N. Y., died February 14, 1904.

Christian knight errantry from the places consecrated by the footsteps of Christ to the souls sitting in darkness and waiting to be washed by His blood. Apostles had never been wanting to preach the gospel to distant and barbarous peoples, but never before had the forces of Christendom been so thoroughly organized to make the kingdom of Christ co-extensive with the spread of worldly kingdoms. The rapid growth of the church in the continents opened up to civilization by the explorers of the sixteenth century had already necessitated the formation under Gregory XV of a college of cardinals for the propagation of the faith, and three years after Jogues had entered the Jesuit novitiate at Rouen, October 24, 1624. Urban VIII had built a college in Rome under this title, with a view to establishing an institution to which candidates for the missionary career could come from every quarter of the globe, to be trained for their work and to be imbued with the spirit of the church at the very centre of Catholic unity.

In the task of organizing the work of the missions the Holy See was ably assisted by men of the greatest influence in church and state in France. Saint Vincent de Paul had returned from slavery at Tunis, only to form his congregation of missionary priests and sisters whose wonders of charity have filled the earth; and to lend his apostolic counsels to Antoine de Gondi, and later to King Louis XIII and his saintly wife, Queen Anne of Austria. The illustrious Francois Le Clerc du Tremblay, Capuchin, after having assisted Richelieu in his attempts to evangelize Canada, had, under the patronage of Urban VIII, become superior of the Oriental missions, sending missionaries to Tunis, Algiers and Cairo, to Armenia, Mount Libanus and Babylon. Father Cotton, confessor of Henry IV and Louis XIII, continued, even when he had left the court, to use his influence to have the Jesuits return to their posts in Canada, whence they had been driven by the English in 1628.

Whilst the young religious Jogues was making his three years' course of philosophy at the College of La Flèche he met with many of the veteran missionaries who had been forced to return from Canada, and sat side by side with Ménard, Dumarché, Delaplace, Quentin and Adam, who like himself were one day to live, labor

and die in the missions of New France. During the four years he spent teaching classes of grammar and literature in the College of Rome, 1629-1633, he fell under the same influences, Charles Labemant, Masse and Brébeuf residing with him there, and though his excellent talents seemed to destine him for brilliant tasks in the prosperous colleges of his order in France; and though it was his own desire to go to the missions of Japan, where the death of Spinola at the stake in 1626 assured him of a chance for martyrdom, or to Ethiopia, where flourishing missions were constantly demanding new laborers, he was destined for the Canadian missions; and shortly after Champlain and Richelieu had succeeded in restoring Canada to France, before Jogues had quite finished his theology at Clermont, in Paris, he received orders from his superiors to prepare for the missions there. He was ordained priest in January, 1636, celebrated his first mass on February tenth, and set sail from Dieppe, April 6, 1636, leaving in a letter to his mother the very matter of fact view of his mission in the words: "Men for a little gain cross the seas, enduring, at least, as much as we; and shall we not, for God's love, do what men do for earthly interests?"

It is important that we should keep before our minds this motive which impelled men like Father Jogues to enter upon the missionary career. It stands out so clearly that even historians like Parkman are compelled to recognize it. "To the vital principles of propagandism," he writes, in *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, "the commercial and the military spirit were subordinate; or, to speak more justly, trade, policy and military power leaned on the missions as their main support, the grand instrument of their extension. The missions were to explore the interior; the missions were to win over the savage hordes at once to Heaven and to France. Peaceful, benign, beneficent, were the weapons of this conquest. France aimed to subdue, not by the sword but by the cross; not to overwhelm and crush the nations she invaded, but to convert, to civilize and embrace them among her children." And, again, in *The Jesuits in North America*, speaking of the Jesuit missionaries: "One great aim engrossed their lives. For the greater glory of God — *ad majorem Dei*

gloriam — they would act or wait, dare, suffer or die, yet all in unquestioning subjection to the authority of the superiors in whom they recognized the agents of Divine authority itself.”

It is well to keep this motive of Jogues and his companions before us, because it is the motive of the Catholic missionary the world over, and it is the only one that can support the true apostle in his labors or inspire him to propagate a true Christianity. The candidates for the missions in New France knew well the difficulties, hardships and dangers which would confront them there. They had heard them enumerated by the heroic Brébeuf; they had read them in the letters of Le Jeune, Charles Labemant and Masse. To them the scene of Jacques Cartier planting the cross at St. Malo for Francis I., was not a mere official ceremony, for it meant that to be a missionary to the Algonquins, the Montagnais or the Hurons, was to bear the cross in every deed. This cross they found in the abandonment of home and friends and country, and in the utter privation of the simple comforts which are permitted even to a religious; in the perilous journey over untraversed seas; the hardships of a new and rigorous climate; the extreme poverty of their domestic life; the monotony and lonesomeness of days spent within forts or encampments, cut off by distance from the civilized world, and by ignorance of the language from the savages they had come to evangelize; in the difficulties of acquiring barbarous tongues without master or interpreter; in long and painful marches by land, burdened down by their camp luggage, and often by sick brethren or neophytes; the toilsome journeys by water in frail canoes, under hot sun, against swift currents, of which the intrepid Brébeuf wrote:

“However smooth the passage may appear, there is enough to appall a heart not thoroughly mortified. The skill of the Indians does not shorten the journey, smooth the rocks, nor avert the dangers. No matter with whom you may be, you must make up your mind to be at least three or four weeks on the way, with no companions but men whom you have never seen before, in a bark canoe, in a most inconvenient position, forbidden to move right or left, to be fifty times a day in danger of capsizing or dashing against the rocks. You are scorched by the sun in the

daytime, and the mosquitoes devour you by night. Sometimes you have to ascend five or six falls in one day, and at night all your refreshment is a little corn simply boiled in water, and your bed the ground or a rough and bristling rock; generally the sky is your canopy, with an unbroken stillness for your lullaby."

"It would not be easy to give you in detail," wrote Father Jogues to his mother, "the discomforts of this mode of travel; but the love of God, who calls us to these missions, and our desire to do something towards the conversion of these poor barbarians, render it all so sweet, that we would not exchange our hardships for all the pleasures of earth." These journeys over, the Indian hut or cabin was their only resting place, open to the winds of heaven, filled with the smoke of the fires, creeping with the vermin of an unclean race, with whom they had commonly to eat and sleep, living in constant danger of their treachery, in horror of their sorcery and devil worship, in disgust at their immorality, and, but for their hope, with every reason to despair, of lifting them from their superstition and idolatry. All that could shock the refined sense of men hailing from the most delicately nurtured nation of that age, and all that could dampen their natural ardor of soul. Nay, what to their sensitive piety was ineffably more trying, the manifest reign of Satan in the Souls they wished to wrest from his servitude awaited the aspirant for the missionary career in Canada.

"The way was pathless and long," writes Parkman, "by rock and torrent and the gloom of savage forests. The goal was more dreary yet. Toil, hardship, famine, filth, sickness, solitude, insult—all that is most revolting to men nurtured among arts and letters, all that is most terrific to monastic credulity; such were the promise and the reality of the Huron mission. In the eyes of the Jesuits the Huron country was the innermost stronghold of Satan, his castle and his donjon-keep. All the weapons of his malice were prepared against the bold invader who should assail him in this, the heart of his ancient domain. Far from shrinking, the priest's zeal rose to tenfold ardor. He signed the cross, invoked St. Ignatius, St. Xavier or St. Francis Borgia, kissed his reliquary, said nine masses to the Virgin, and stood prompt to battle with all the hosts of hell.

"A life sequestered from social intercourse, and remote from every prize which ambition holds worth the pursuit, or a lonely death, under forms, perhaps, the most appalling — these were the missionaries' alternatives. Their maligners may taunt them, if they will, with credulity, superstition, or a blind enthusiasm; but slander itself cannot accuse them of hypocrisy or ambition."

If we dwell thus as length on the hardships of the missionaries to Canada in 1635 it is because we can by one brief passage prepare our minds to appreciate the hasty narrative of Father Jogues's active life there from the time of his arrival at the island of St. Louis de Mescou, in Chaleur bay, with Fathers Charles Garnier, Paul Ragueneau, Nicholas Adam, Peter Chastelain and Brother Ceuet, in June, 1636, until the date of his famous captivity in August, 1642. After spending about a month at the missionary residence of Our Lady of Angels at Quebec, Father Jogues proceeded to Three Rivers to await an opportunity for traveling to the Huron mission for which he had been destined. He had not long to wait. Father Daniel, "barefooted, with a paddle in his hand, his cassock in shreds, the breviary hanging from his neck, and a wornout shirt on his back," had come down from the Huron country with some young Hurons, who were to be thoroughly instructed in the faith, and to return to their country in order to enlighten and edify their fellow Hurons.

In answer to their petition for a missionary to accompany them homeward, Father Jogues was appointed, and he started immediately on St. Bartholomew's Day, August twenty-fourth, on a nineteen days' journey of over 600 miles in the frail birch canoe, arriving at Ihonatiria, where the missionaries had their residence of St. Joseph. This station, variously called Ihmitina, Jonatiri, Abanacha, Toanch, Toachim, Teandeauiata, was on a point running out into Lake Huron, between Notawasaga and Georgian bays, and facing Christian island. It is in Simcoe county, at the extreme northwest corner, and due north of Toronto. The hill on which the village stood descends abruptly to the shore, a long horseshoe cove affords shelter to the shipping, and it was from this trait the Indians named it Ihonatiria, "where the beautiful canoes are laden." I regret that we cannot go more into the

detail of the various mission sites which were the scenes of Father Jogues's labors. Time will not permit us, and besides it is the special province of Father Jones, archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, who after much labor in constructing the map of these sites, kindly gave me the benefit of his studies by inviting me as companion of his explorations last spring.

Here Father Jogues spent his first three weeks in a mortal illness, and the time of his convalescence in learning the Huron language. With Brébeuf, the superior and teacher, Pijart, Le Mercier, Garnier and Chastelain, he strove to master its guttural sounds and to pronounce its words, with vowels as numerous as the consonants in Polish. Together they contrived to invent words for religion, virtue, science and things the Indians did not know. For recreation they took to farming and managed in their first year, 1637, to produce enough wheat and wine for the service of the altar. To make themselves all to all to the Indians, they lived, ate and lodged as the tribe did. They rose at four, meditated and said their masses until eight, instructed the Indians until two, and again after dinner until four, when they dismissed them so as to be free to say their office, consult together about the interests of the missions, study the language, take supper at 6.30, say their night prayers and retire. Father Jogues was found so useful in managing the affairs of the settlement that he was appointed superintendent of the works in which they were training the Indians. When plague broke out in their villages he was found to be one of the most efficient attendants on the sick. During this plague the fathers baptized fully 1,200 persons, according to Father Jogues, who had occasion at this time, when traveling from village to village with Father Brébeuf to experience the true hardships of the missionary, which consist not in mere bodily privations, but in distress of soul occasioned by the credulity with which some of them were led to regard the missionaries as the cause of their woes, by the witchcraft, sorcery and oneiromancy with which they vainly strove to dispel their evils, and "the harrowing pain," to use the words of Father Jogues to his mother, "of seeing more than a hundred people dying before our eyes and vainly entreating our aid."

The plague caused the dispersion of the village at Ihonatiria and the missionaries accordingly followed the inhabitants to the two villages Ossossane, some fourteen miles south of Ihonatiria, and Teanaustaye, about twenty miles to the southeast. Here it was that Father Jogues baptized in one year forty-eight children and seventy-two adults.

With a view, however, of establishing a central mission station where the Hurons could be gradually induced to give up their roving habits and find security from the inroads of the Iroquois, Father Brébeuf, with the approbation of Richelieu, determined to erect a mission station and fort on the river Wye, and to call it the Residence of St. Mary. The charge of building the fort and the palisades surrounding it, as well as the hospital and hospice for Indian visitors which stood nearby was given to Father Jogues, and the walls of the fort stand to-day, two to three feet above the ground, a monument to his industry and thoroughness, and a memento of the zeal with which he devoted himself to the fifteen Frenchmen who were permitted to assist him, and of his charity to the Indians who came to visit the fathers for instruction or for medicine.

After four years among the Hurons, Father Jogues was sent in 1640, with Father Charles Garnier, to the Blue Mountains, some thirty miles southwest of the Hurons, to start a mission among the Petun or Tobacco Indians. Owing to the false reports spread by some malevolent Hurons they were not favorably received, and after two months in the depth of winter spent in traveling about from cabin to cabin, they resolved to return home. It was at this place Father Garnier was put to death in 1649, after having established there the flourishing mission of the Apostles.

In 1641, Father Jogues, with Father Raymbault, visited some western Algonquins, known as the Ottawas, who lived at Sault Ste. Marie, on Lake Superior. Their journey was 250 miles in canoe over Lake Huron, and their reception at Ste. Marie was quite as cordial as the reception given later to Marquette, when he had pushed beyond this station to the Mississippi. Indeed, Father Jogues, with the burning desire to spread the faith further

westward, which finally led Marquette on his explorations, raised here a cross and made it face the valley to which his gallant follower was afterwards to bear it so triumphantly.

The Hurons were a peaceful nation and under the influence of the missionaries they were beginning gradually to manifest the dispositions which had enabled the Jesuits to form the famous Reductions in Paraguay. They numbered in all about 25,000 or 30,000 souls and they lived in a country about twenty-five miles wide by forty long. Taught to cultivate the soil, they were slowly becoming less nomadic, and, in their numerous happy villages situated between Lakes Simcoe and Huron, they would surely have become civilized but for the relentless war waged on them by the Iroquois. This great family of the Five Nations had their castles, as the French called them, along the Mohawk valley, and they found easy access to the Huron territory by way of Lake Ontario or by Lake Champlain, the River Richelieu and the St. Lawrence. No expedition, whether mercenary or missionary, was ever made between the Huron country and Quebec, the headquarters of the missions, without fear of an attack by these fierce and cruel tribes, and the missionary knew that it was their greatest ambition to capture a black gown in order, if possible, to impose their own terms upon the French for his release. In the spring of 1642, the hostility for the French was most acute, and it was not without misgiving that the superior of the mission, Father Charles Labemant, deputed Fathers Jogues and Raymbault to go to Quebec with twenty Huron warriors and three invalid Frenchmen. It took them thirty-five days to reach Three Rivers, whence they pushed on to Quebec, the Indians visiting the white settlement to satisfy their curiosity as well as to exchange the trinkets they had brought with them, the fathers meanwhile attending to mission business and making ready for their return.

With a fleet of twelve canoes, carrying forty persons, Father Jogues left Quebec the last week of July. After a few days at Three Rivers, they began their journey on August first, but they had made but one day's journey when they were surprised by seventy Iroquois, and after a brave resistance, during which some were slain, while others escaped, Father Jogues was taken

captive, with René Goupil, Eustace Ahasistari, Stephen Totiri, Charles Tsondalsaa, William Coutoure, a Frenchman, Joseph Theondechoren, and his niece, Teresa Oiorehaton, a young Indian maiden who had spent two years in the Ursulines at Quebec, and who was now returning to help spread the faith among her people.

What follows we cannot describe better than Father Jogues describes it in his letter to his chief superior in France, in his tribute to the memory of his faithful companion, René Goupil, and in his narrative some four years later to his superior, Father Buteux, of his sufferings at the hands of the Iroquois. It should not seem strange that we fall back on his own account of his tortures and captivity, first, because he is a competent, disinterested, and, by the unanimous accord of historians, a veritable witness; and, secondly, because long before his own letters of narratives had become public, others, such as the Hurons who had escaped from the Iroquois, had already reported what he narrates in all modesty. What impresses us most throughout his various accounts of his captivity is the generous tribute he always pays to the constancy and courage of his neophytes, and their personal devotion to him. It speaks well for the character of the converts the missionaries had made among the Indians to see some of them delivering themselves up to the Iroquois for captivity and torture merely to be loyal to the priest, and it should silence forever the tongues of men who complain that the missionaries gave baptism hastily and without due instruction to their Indian wards. Another thing noticeable in Father Jogues's narrative of his own sufferings is the simplicity with which he tells everything, his own weakness and temptation to give way under them, as well as the graces with which he was sustained in every conflict.

The course of the captors lay down Lake Champlain and overland past what is now Saratoga to the Mohawk valley about eighteen miles west of Schenectady. Needless to say, the prisoners were forced to row the canoes, and, when on land, to carry the baggage, most of which was spoil from their own stores for the Huron missions. They paused for a day or so during the journey to be tortured for the amusement of an Iroquois war

party. This was the eighth day and the spot on which the tortures were inflicted is supposed to be the island opposite Westport. If I do not enumerate these tortures it is because they were repeated time and again before the hatred of the Mohawks was satisfied, and they were so cruel that once is quite enough to mention them. When six days later, on August fourteenth, they arrived at the first Mohawk village on the north bank of the Mohawk river, these tortures were intensified, and it is a marvel to us how the victims lived under their blows with fists, sticks and clubs, the tearing out of the fingernails and crunching of the fingers with the teeth; hunger, heat, vermin, festering wounds, all for the pastime of the savage Iroquois; running the gauntlet under a shower of blows with clubs and iron rods; having their fingers burned or bitten by men who resembled ravening wolves, their flesh hacked or torn with nails to the very bone, their flesh cut off in slices, their bodies tied to stakes or suspended during the day, stretched on the St. Andrew cross, and then a night spent at the mercy of the children, who amused themselves by heaping the burning embers on their wounds. Surely, Father Jogues could moan: "We are made a spectacle to God and His angels," as he stood bravely with his companions on the platform projecting over the hilltop at Ossernenon, the victims of their fiendish tormentors, the French and Huron captives animated by his example and assurance, and vying with one another to comfort him by their patient and heroic endurance. Without time for rest or healing, they were led next day to Andagaron, a village eight miles north, to undergo similar tortures, and, finally, two days later to Tionontoguen, some six miles further on, to meet on the platform of that village a new band of Christian Hurons taken captive elsewhere, two of whom Father Jogues baptized "with raindrops gathered from the leaves of a stalk of Indian corn given us to chew; the other two I baptized at a little stream which we passed when led to another village." Condemned to die by fire, the sentence was soon revoked and the prisoners were distributed among the villages, Father Jogues and René Goupil being allotted to Ossernenon, the first village, where their lives were constantly in danger until on September seventh the Dutch

settlement at Albany sent Van Corlaer and two others to treat for their deliverance. All they could obtain was a promise from the Indians, but their interest in Father Jogues and his companion impressed the authorities of the tribe with a regard for their prisoners, and it was decided to spare their lives.

Father Jogues now began life as a slave to an old Indian squaw; he had to hew the wood and draw the water, follow the chase, and the fishing expeditions, sleep on the ground and often starve rather than eat the meats they had idolatrously offered to their Areskoi. When free he withdrew to the woods to commune with God, and read from a copy of the New Testament which he had regained from his captors, though his writings are so replete with quotations from the Old Testament that he scarcely needed the text to refresh his memory. Gradually he began to speak to his masters of God and their souls, and now and then he made excursions to the neighboring villages, despised as a slave by the Iroquois, welcomed as a liberator by the poor Huron and Algonquin captives who were striving to keep their Christian practices in a land of idolators. He was constantly threatened with death and time and again in council the sachems had resolved to sacrifice him. Once when they had substituted ten Abnaki prisoners in his stead he stood by and rushed into the burning pile to baptize a poor squaw who was roasting as a meal for the savages. Now and then he visited the Dutch post at Rensselaerwyck, or Fort Orange, now Albany, where he might have escaped, as the Dutch urged him to do, but for his eagerness to serve the Huron prisoners, and, if possible, to win the hearts of the Iroquois. It was from this post he usually sent his letters to the governor of Quebec or to his provincial, and their usual theme was his willingness to remain captive rather than cause any political disturbance or forsake the Christian prisoners.

He remained in these sentiments until August 5, 1643, when he began to see that his presence could no longer benefit his fellow captives, since the Iroquois kept him away from them and refused his ministrations for themselves. During the year he had baptized seventy persons, chiefly prisoners, sick people and children, and the Iroquois were now thwarting every attempt

on his part to minister to souls. Accordingly, when the Dutch again urged him to escape and offered their assistance he availed himself of their kindness; but the matter was hard to manage. Even after a desperate fight he had reached the vessel which was to take him off, he was forced to return to quiet the colonists, who feared an uprising of the Indians. For six weeks he lay hid in a miserable barn, ill-treated by his keeper, who appropriated to himself the money kindly meant by the Dutch for the missionary. They had already given 300 francs for his ransom, and when they heard of his ill-treatment they immediately put him under the kindly care of the *Dominie Megapolensis*, who used him with the greatest kindness, accompanied him down the Hudson to New Amsterdam, feting and honoring him all the way and naming after him an island which they met in midstream. With the *Dominie* he was honorably received by the governor of New Amsterdam, now New York, entertained at his table, and provided with passage to Holland. Before departing, however, he had an opportunity of exercising his ministry, finding there a penitent Irishman who had come up from the settlement in Virginia, and a Portuguese Catholic woman. The respect shown him is manifest from the fact that one young Lutheran was enthusiastic enough to fall at his feet and hail him as a martyr of Christ.

The sequel of his career after his captivity can be shortly told. He left New York in a small bark on the fifth of November, and after much hardship put into Falmouth, in England, having almost fallen into the hands of a Parliament cruiser, which meant death or prison for a priest in those days. Here their bark was boarded by robbers and Father Jogues was stripped of his hat and coat. Having seen a French collier, he went up to him, and though at first taken for a beggar, made known his real character and obtained passage to the French coast, which he reached between Brest and St. Pol de Leon, on Christmas Day, early enough to satisfy his devotion by receiving communion of which he had so long been deprived.

A good merchant took him to Rennes. Unknown, he presented himself at the college of his order as one who brought news from

Canada. The rector, who was preparing to say mass, hurried to see the stranger as soon as he heard the word Canada. Almost his first question was as to Father Jogues. "Do you know him?" "I know him well," said the other. "We have heard of his capture by the Iroquois and his horrible sufferings. What has become of him? Is he still alive?" "He is alive," said Father Jogues. "He is free; he is now speaking to you!" and he cast himself at the feet of his astonished superior to ask his blessing.

Once known, honors met him on every side; objects belonging to him were eagerly sought as relics; the Queen Regent even requested that he should come to Paris, that she might see so illustrious a sufferer. All this was painful to him, and it was not until three times summoned that he proceeded to the capital. He longed to return to Canada; but one thing prevented his departure. His mangled hands which had been reverently kissed by the queen and the court of France were an obstacle to his celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the altar. A dispensation was needed. Urban VIII then sat in the See of Peter — a pope noted especially for the stringent rules which he introduced against any symptom of public veneration to the departed servants of God until their life and virtue had been sifted and examined in the long and minute legal proceedings for canonization. Yet when the application of Father Jogues was presented and he had learned the story of his sufferings, he forgot his own laws, and exclaimed, as he granted it, "*Indignum esset Christi martyrem Christi non bibere sanguinem*" — It were wrong, indeed, if one who had shed his blood for Christ might not partake of the Blood of Christ.

Nothing now detained the missionary in France; and early in the spring of 1644 he was again in Canada. The colony was on the brink of ruin; but the governor fortunately forced the Mohawks to offer peace. It was concluded at Three Rivers on the 12th of July, 1645. Father Jogues, though stationed at Montreal, was present and an anxious observer of the state of feeling. The treaty was at last confirmed on the Mohawk and again renewed on the St. Lawrence, with a request for a missionary.

Conscious that he would be selected, Father Jogues announced to his friends his perilous mission, and in April, 1646, readily accepted it when offered by his superior.

Though a mission was resolved upon it was thought better that he should go first as ambassador and was accordingly sent with Mr. Bourdon, an officer in the employ of the colony. Of his embassy, the missionary drew up a full account, which was in existence till 1800, when it was, with other papers belonging to the Canada Jesuits, seized by the British government. It has now disappeared. The "Relation," which doubtless followed it, says that they left Three Rivers on the 16th of May, 1646, with four Mohawks and two Algonquins. Ascending the Sorel, they traversed Lake Champlain and on the twenty-ninth of May, reached the beautiful lake below it. Its Iroquois name was Andiatarocte: for Europeans it was without a name, but as it was the eve of Corpus Christi, the festival instituted by the church to honor Christ's presence in the Holy Sacrament, the missionary gave it the name, which it bore for more than a century — Lake Saint Sacrament, now Lake George.

Continuing their march, they came to Ossaragué, a fishing station on the Maurice, or upper Hudson, which they descended to Fort Orange. When the missionary had here repaid his debt of gratitude to the Dutch, his generous benefactors, the embassy proceeded to the Mohawk. The first castle was reached on the seventh of June, its name had been changed from Ossernenon to Oneougoure. Here Jogues was welcomed as a friend; a council of sachems was soon convened, and he delivered the presents of the governor, and in a discourse, still preserved, urged them to thoughts of peace. He was heard with attention, and responded to in a similar strain. According to Indian custom, he presented a belt of wampum to the tribe into which he had been incorporated. The Wolf replied that Ondessouk should ever find among them his mat to rest upon, and a fire to warm him.

Another present was yet to be made, Jogues had remarked among the spectators some Onondaga braves, and to these also he made a present, to smooth the way for the French to their land of lakes. This was cheerfully accepted; and Jogues, no longer a

temporal envoy, turned to his spiritual avocations. The captive Christians were soon visited and consoled, the sacraments of baptism or penance conferred on many; but he could not delay as long as his zeal desired. The Iroquois pressed his departure, and on the sixteenth he left their castles for the St. Lawrence. As he expected to return speedily, he left a box containing his little missionary furniture; they showed a disinclination to keep it, but as he opened it in their presence he thought their suspicions dispelled, and went his way. On his arrival in Canada, joy such as had not been known for years quickened every heart, for all had been so suspicious of the Mohawks that public prayers had been constantly offered for the missionary and his companion.

His immediate return to the Mohawk was now expected; but suddenly there came mysterious rumors, and the superiors paused. Jogues must not go. But as the summer wore on all became quiet, and, yielding to his entreaty, the superior permitted him to depart. In September, 1646, he left Three Rivers for the last time, this time as a missionary of the Gospel, with Lalande, a worthy successor of Goupil, and some Hurons. As they advanced, they heard tidings which seemed positive as to the end of the peace; some Hurons left them, but Jogues went fearlessly on. After the return of these, the French were left in the greatest anxiety and uncertainty as to his fate. Months rolled by, and no tidings reached them; at last, almost at the same time they learned from some Hurons, who had escaped from the Mohawk, an account of his death, and received letters from Governor Kieft which confirmed it.

The Indian account, as preserved in the manuscript of Father Buteux and Father De Quen, is, that when the missionary was within two days' march of the castles, that is half way between Lake George and the Mohawk, he was met by a war party out against the French. The missionary and his companion were immediately seized, and in spite of his remonstrance stripped and beaten; then they turned homeward and Father Jogues was again led naked into Gandawagué, the place of his former captivity. Blows were mingled with threats of death on the morrow. "You shall not be burned," they cried, "you shall die beneath our

hatchets and your heads shall be fixed on our palisades, to show your brethren whom we take." In vain did he endeavor to show them the injustice of treating him as an enemy, when he came the messenger of peace; deaf to the voice of reason, and blinded by superstition, they began their butchery. Slicing off the flesh from his arms and back, they cried, "Let us see whether this white flesh is the flesh of an Oltson." "I am but a man like yourselves," replied the dauntless missionary, "though I fear no death, nor your tortures. You do wrong to kill me. I have come to your country to preserve peace and strengthen the land, and to show you the way to heaven, and you treat me like a dog! Fear the chastisement of Him who rules both the Indian and the French."

In spite of their threats his fate was undecided. Of the three great families in each tribe, the Bear was clamorous for blood, while the Tortoise and his own, the Wolf, declared that he should live. A council was called in the largest town; it was there decided that he should be spared; but it was too late.

Towards evening, on the day after his arrival, some Indians of the Bear family came to invite him to supper; he rose to follow, but scarce had he stooped to enter the lodge when an Indian, concealed within, sprang forward and dealt him a terrible blow with his matchet. Kiotsaeton, the deputy, who had concluded the peace, threw up his arm to avert the blow, but it cut through his arm, and sank deep in the head of the missionary. His head was then cut off, and set on the palisade. His companion shared his fate. Jogues's body was thrown into the Mohawk. His altar furniture, to which they ascribed diabolical power, was scattered and destroyed.

On the 5th of June, 1647, the day after the reception of the letters from the Dutch authorities, a solemn mass of the dead was offered up at Quebec; but "we could not," says Ragueneau, "bring ourselves to offer for him the prayers of the dead. We offered the adorable sacrifice but in thanksgiving for the favors which he had received from God. Laity and religious share our sentiments on this happy death, and more were found inclined to invoke his aid than to pray for his repose."

While Father Jogues was still alive he was regarded by all who knew him intimately as a saint. In recording this estimate of him, we must remember that it was not formed, as our own is apt to be formed, by the heroism he displayed during his two years of captivity among the Iroquois. Many a stolid Indian bore like tortures as calmly as the missionary, though more through their own motives of pride than through his motive of self-sacrifice. Many a white trader, too, in early colonial days, stood brave and defiant under most brutal torments; in fact, several of Father Jogues's companions suffered with him just as keenly as himself, and yet they are not proposed as worthy of beatification. The virtues that made Father Jogues's companions and superiors look upon him as a saint were the obedience, the patience, the self-sacrifice, the fortitude, and the devotion which made them feel so sure of his constancy under every trial, that they never hesitated to entrust him with the most arduous missions; and they were never surprised that he should fulfill them with constancy unto death and under tortures even worse than death.

All the memoirs and lives we have of Father Jogues were written with this one purpose, to preserve the memory of his virtues, heroic sufferings and death for the faith, and to gather together the material that might serve for the process of his beatification. It was this purpose his superiors had in view when they had Father Buteux put together all he had heard from Father Jogues himself concerning his tortures and slavery among the Iroquois. It was this same purpose that led Abbé Forest, Jesuit of the last century, to write the biography of his townsman; and with a like purpose Father Felix Martin made use of the manuscript of Abbé Forest, which the French revolution had prevented the author from publishing, in preparing his excellent life of Isaac Jogues. Finally, the distinguished translator of this life, Dr. Gilmary Shea, made his work one of devotion. It was only one of the very many tributes of the great historian to the Apostle of the Iroquois, whose generous self-sacrifice he loved to record, though the story of his sufferings pained him so much that his manuscripts still bear evidence of the tears he shed when composing them.

It is clear, then, that at no time since the death of Father Jogues has the project of having him some day declared Blessed been forgotten. It is noteworthy, besides, that in all the eulogies pronounced on him and on his many fellow missionaries, heroic as all of them were, he has always been classed with those who are singled out from the others for their distinguished sanctity. So characteristic and predominant is his sanctity in all he does, that it compels the admiration even of men who think a Jesuit cannot be sincere. According to Parkman, he is one of those whose character the pressure of Loyola's system intensified without debasing, one who was so good that even the violence done by that system to the noblest qualities of manhood, joined to that equivocal system of morality which eminent causists of the order have inculcated, could not make a whit less conscientious or religious.

If documents and historical eulogy of every sort were enough to establish the sanctity of Father Jogues, they could be furnished in abundance — so abundantly that the difficulty would be not in securing them but in selecting from their splendid testimonials to his merit. They are not enough, howsoever important may be the part they must play in every process of beatification. In a case like that of Father Jogues, in which it is impossible to furnish traditional evidence of his repute for holiness, either before or after death, the written testimony of authors and compilers from his day down to our own must be used to show that he practised all the theological and moral virtues in an heroic degree, and that his sufferings and death were patiently and freely met for the interests of our holy faith. But the mere dry statement made from these sources is not the only, or in every case the most convincing, arguments in behalf of a cause. What is also in demand, and what naturally appeals strongly to the judges in a process of beatification, is the popular sentiment which such documentary evidence should produce, the sentiment of great regard for the sanctity of the soul in question, and the sentiment also of a great desire to have that soul honored on our altars.

What has most advanced the cause of Father Jogues the past twelve years is the Shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs which has

been erected on the site of René Goupil's and his own martyrdom, which site was also the birthplace of Catharine Tegakwita, whose cause is associated with theirs. When the Rev. Joseph Loyzance, S. J., then of Troy, N. Y., first thought of finding the place consecrated to the memories of these heroic souls, his project was considered by many to be a hopeless one. Even when by the use of maps, and by the aid of the distinguished topographer, Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, N. Y., he succeeded in locating the site where the shrine now stands, it was thought that he would never be able to establish his position in such a way as to satisfy the many residents of the Mohawk valley, who had all their different theories where the site must be. In the first place, not all could have access to the maps of the old Indian villages as they were located at different intervals from 1635 to 1684; nor could all have the benefit of the personal direction of Gen. Clark in their several researches. Even could they have availed themselves of all these aids, the convictions that had grown with years would naturally be hard to shake, the more so that plausible arguments were not wanting for the many theories.

No Catholic will ask why we should be so anxious about the beatification of these great servants of God. It is for us a family as well as a national affair. To the men and women who made the beginnings of our history Catholic we owe unceasing gratitude; to cherish their memory the best part of our heritage to the most distinguished of them who make our entrance and first foundations in America a splendid record of heroism and saintliness we owe a devout remembrance that can never rest satisfied until it shall be permitted to manifest itself in public veneration. Divine providence blessed our soil with the miracles of grace that made a Jogues, a Tegakwita, a Brébeuf. It has worked the miracle of compelling even biased non-Catholic minds to proclaim their esteem for these heroes in terms so reverent as to sound almost like those of religious worship; the same divine providence can and will, in answer to our prayers, attest what it has done in sanctifying their souls, by miraculous proofs of the glory to which their sanctity entitled them.

You will pardon, I feel certain, my seeming trespass on your patience, whilst a word commendatory of that noble order of priests, of whom Jogues was so particularly bright a star, is spoken.

Pioneers in thought, in self-sacrifice, in exploration, in civilization — how great a debt we owe to the Sons of Ignatius Loyola. Fearless, bold, intrepid, with their souls aflame in love for their fellowman. No obstacle daunted them, no danger checked them, no death repulsed them. We of America, of creed or no creed, of Catholic or non-Catholic persuasion, but as honest men, seeing the truth, must acknowledge it and say "God bless them." They entered a world, unknown to civilized man — where all things, the climate, the people and the face of the country conspired against them.

They were armed, as their brethren throughout the world, with a breviary and a crucifix and the apparel necessary for the mysteries of religion; with deep faith, consuming charity, unbounded zeal and indomitable courage. The salvation of souls was their only aim, and, therefore, they stopped not to gather the glittering pebbles beneath their feet, nor to seize a share of the vast commerce which grew up around them. Along the course of mighty rivers they pursued their mission; into the dark and dense forests they fearlessly penetrated, on the shores of the beautiful lakes and inland seas, unknown, save to the red man, they reared the cross; and wherever the Indian found game to hunt or fish to catch, thither the missionary also went.

Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, not a lake discovered, not a forest penetrated, but a Jesuit led the way. They laid the foundation for every town celebrated in the annals of French America; they traversed Maine; they explored the northern and western parts of New Hampshire, Vermont and New York and named many of their rivers and lakes; they went through Michigan; they planted the cross on the shores of Lake Superior; they penetrated into the wilds of Wisconsin and caused the hymn of Catholic praise to rise from the prairies of Illinois; they descended the Mississippi and preached the word of God to the tribes as far south as Arkansas. What could avail to deter them

from dying, if need be, to prove their love for the fellowman? "Neither height, nor depth, nor principalities nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come," could make them shrink from duty's call.

They preached the true doctrines of Jesus Christ, "that if we would be his disciples, we must take up our cross and follow him." That doctrine so hard, so foolish to the world. They preached the same doctrine that St. Paul did to the Corinthians of old, the aristocrats of thought, the votaries of taste, the favored, earthly companion of the deities of Olympus; for it was to that wealthy, that highly cultured and intellectual people that a poor, despised and outcast Jew, as the poor, despised and outcast Jogues in later life came to America, to preach the doctrine of another poor, despised and outcast, Jesus of Nazareth. The doctrines of the three are identical.

The world of to-day denies and divides and rejects them, as unworthy of serious minds.

But, why did the intellectual pagan world accept them? Why did Dionysius, the chief of the philosophers, say that they were true? Why did kings and princes bow their crowned and glittering heads in humble acceptance of the fact? Why did jeweled ladies of the court, clad in the purple hues from India, and breathing the sweet perfume of Arabia, why did they, at once, renounce it all and accept a religion that made of earth a thorny path, a mortified and humble preparation for the life to come? Why did tender womanhood — maidens in the youthful flush of girlhood like Cecelia whom music has wreathed with melody, and Agatha and Agnes whom painting still hands down immortal in the breathing tints of life, why, why did they go forth from palaces and homes of wealth which modern taste but faintly imitates, why, why, did they go down those marble steps breathing only prayers as last farewells to tearful friends and relatives, and walk boldly and joyfully to the axe of the executioner or the fagots at the stake, and the wild beasts howling in their dens — why when from the wild and roaring sea of the assembled populace, in tens of thousands crowded in the amphitheatre, the loud shouts of hatred and of cries for blood went up, as savage echo to the

beasts that clawed and crouched waiting for their prey. Why did the sweet-faced Perpetua who but yesternight became a mother in her prison cell, go forth with her new born nursing on her breast, baptized only with her tears of love, hand it to an attendant that stood at the gates of the arena and then with face so calm that Raphael's inspirations are but darkling shadows and with eyes that saints and angels open on the beauty of their God, walk down to awful death before the jeering throng — and this in testimony of that faith which will men dare deny — and when the leopards sprang upon her prostrate form and their savage fangs did clutch and crunch the little hands and tear the soft pink flesh, while bone on bone was heard to break and crackle down in the grey dust, beneath the wild beasts' grasp, the cold, pale moon revealed in silvery light the calm white bosom of the Christian martyr, there came at once a lull of awful stillness, and then were heard from afar the gentle breathings of the Christians' prayer: "May He who died forgiving all they did, look down forgivingly on all this wrong."

The good Father Jogues, priest, patron, martyr, was wont to find surcease from sorrow in that grand old Latin hymn which turned into English runs, "Thou art, O God, the life and light."

"What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty, in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a God!"

"O fear not," speaks our own Longfellow,

"O fear not, in a world like this,
And thou shalt know ere long,
Know how sublime a thing it is
To suffer and be strong."

"This living martyr, half-clad in shaggy furs, kneeling on the snow, among the icicled rocks, is alike a theme for the pen and a subject for the pencil," quoth Parkman.

Christian heroism, gentleness and nobility were predominating elements in the beautiful character of Father Jogues. His modest, thoughtful and refined nature shone through the delicate

moulds of his finely chiseled countenance. Though slight of frame his activity was so great that few or none of the Indians could surpass him in running. His power of endurance was remarkable. He was also a man of surpassingly fine literary tastes, and an accomplished scholar. In the historical firmament of our Empire State his name shines like a beautiful star.

The hero of a faith sublime
He lived on earth—but not for time.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

HON. JEREMIAH KECK.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—We live in a fast age. Yes, and what a common remark it is: "This is an age of wonders," but those wonders would be an impossibility without their much overlooked foundation. It is like the dizzy sky-scrapers of New York, some of which reach twenty-five stories, but how long would they stand, unsupported by that immense masonry which is hidden from sight and bedded on the solid rock. So is it with the present age, and would it not be well to pause occasionally amid the rush of modern progress and look at the foundation upon which it rests? Here we find the true value of history, which teaches us that the iron will of our ancestors, their patient industry, their suffering and their battles with the elements, and also with the savages, were the foundation for that progress whose benefits we so richly enjoy. Most of this noble class of pioneers have gone to oblivion, but a few names are preserved to claim our honor, and chief among the number stands that of Sir William Johnson.

On the banks of the Mohawk river, two miles west of Amsterdam, there stands a massive stone building destitute of ornament and only marked by strength. It faces a railroad on which two hundred and fifty trains pass daily, and daily transport 20,000 passengers. When that stone edifice was erected, 160 years ago, there was not even a highway in the Mohawk valley, and rarely a vehicle. Letters were carried by messengers, and now and then a wagoner made a weary journey to and from Albany through the wilderness. And the question may be asked, had not that antique mansion been erected, and others of similar character, would that great railroad now be in operation?

As we contemplate that distinguished pioneer whose name I have mentioned, we first behold the youth, born and reared in Ireland, ready for a field of adventure, and here also is a British admiral who has a land grant in the American wilderness. This admiral is Sir Peter Warren, and as the youth is his nephew, how natural that the former should offer the latter an agency. Here, then, we see this young William Johnson sailing for his new field of service. He reaches New York and finds it a city only in name, with 5,000 inhabitants who are in constant fear of the Indians — some of whom still live in the upper part of Manhattan island. This so-called city was defended by a Wall (the original Wall street), and the gates were closed at night for protection. The young land agent tarries not, but takes a sloop voyage up the Hudson, and it is a rapid vessel that makes it in less than five days. He reaches Albany, also a so-called city, but really a village of about 500 population, with a fort for defense in case of an attack. Then comes a ride to Schenectada, a much smaller village, which is slowly recovering from destruction by the Indians. The Mohawk is crossed, and then the western journey is continued until at last the young agent reaches his destination, and what a desolate scene opens before him! A few log cabins occupied by German immigrants, and also a few Indian wigwams. And are these to be his society, and is this to be his home? Some would have recoiled from such a fate and returned to civilization, but the young agent was made of other stuff. He accepted the situation; he endured the rude hospitality of the immigrants; he opened a land office and then cultivated the good will of both immigrant and Indian. In the latter, indeed, he became deeply interested and soon won a confidence which never was abused. The young land agent began to study the character of the Indian which then was not an exhausted force, as it is at present. No, the red man then held unbroken dominion over the entire continent west of the Hudson. Johnson saw the importance of their friendship and sought acquaintance with their warriors and their chiefs, and he was the first Englishman that entered into the spirit of their wild and nomadic life. He visited their "castles" and saw how valuable they would be as allies,

and they in turn recognized the power of the new pale face and made him a chief with the title of Warrohaha. William Johnson was the first Englishman to hold this distinction, and he marched to Albany on one occasion in Indian costume at the head of the tribe, all of whom were mounted, and their reception was one to draw them into closer alliance, a consummation which he long had at heart.

The government soon recognized the influence of this young land agent, and hence made him a colonel, but he must create his own forces and he proceeded at once to organize both Indians and settlers into a military power. These duties led him to extended journeys through the wilderness. Little Falls was then known as the "carrying place" (as the Indians carried their canoe round the rapids, and near this spot was an important "castle" which he soon controlled. To increase his influence he made his way to the salt springs, now Syracuse, and thence to Buffalo. What must have been his feelings as he viewed this vast territory, then held by the red man in alliance with the French, for which reason they were a fearful danger to the settlers. Could they be won by friendship and that alliance changed from France to England? His life work now opened before him, and as he saw the possible accomplishment of this idea, it brought a sense of duty which held unbroken strength till the last moment. Yes, and although the French had been the first to obtain a hold on the red men, he would transfer that hold to Britain, and as his devotion to this grand purpose was apparent to the government, the latter made him superintendent of Indian affairs, an immense field to which he was so admirably adapted. What a striking progress for this William Johnson, who, only eight years previously, opened his land office in the woods. The newly appointed colonel was expected to raise his own army, and he did not shrink from his duty. This, in addition to the office of superintendent, gave Col. Johnson that autocratic power which he never abused. It was at such a time that he attended the Colonial Congress held at Albany in 1754, where he met Franklin, the Pennsylvania delegate. Franklin, later on, was a quartermaster under Braddock, and when in after years he contrasted

the failures of his commander with Johnson's military success, he, no doubt, recalled their meeting on the above-mentioned occasion. These two men were the chief philanthropists of their time. Franklin is all famous, and yet Johnson was really the most efficient, for he not only opened schools, but also promoted Christianity, whose importance Franklin overlooked.

It could not be possible for such a man to rise in public service without awakening jealousy; and hence, one is hardly surprised at the enmity shown by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. Col. Johnson, however, held his way onward and never allowed the shafts of jealousy to change or abate his earnest purpose.

And, now, we come to that peculiar mark of respect which the Indians displayed to their beloved Warrohaha. It was considered by them necessary that such a chief should be a landed proprietor, and hence, they gave him a tract extending from the East to the West Canada creeks, and including the sites of Herkimer and Little Falls, the area being 69,000 acres. Colonel Johnson accepted this estate, but as a mark of courtesy he asked the king to confirm it and it is still called the "Royal Grant."

God, however, had given him a far higher grant—the duty and the power to preserve the country from the fire brand and the scalping knife—and, by his personal influence, this wonderful man saved the colonists from scenes like the massacre of Wyoming. He had conquered the Indians by kindness, which is the strongest power in the world. Pursuing this two-fold policy, with the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other, he made every effort to obtain settlers, and as a natural result this increased civilization added to his labors. He obtained a preacher for Queen Anne's chapel at Fort Hunter, also a school-master, and for this purpose was in correspondence with the clergy of New York, where he even employed a printer to make books for education, and it is said that very recently there has been found a copy of the Common Prayer Book in the Mohawk language—this being one of Sir William's efforts for the improvement of those of whom he felt himself the guardian.

And thus we see the former land agent transformed into the great representative of the British Empire — the man on whom the eyes of America were centered. Impelled by duty he makes long and painful journeys to the west — to Onondaga and even Buffalo, holding councils with the Indians, and thus extending his effort to win them from the French and confirm them in their alliance with Britain.

Colonel Johnson, indeed, may be styled the “great son of the forest,” for his life was chiefly passed in the woods. Instead of taking a palace car for the west, as in our day, it was following a trail through the wilderness and camping out at night; and here you have a picture of travel in the early frontier life. He is also in the field as a military leader, and captures Fort Niagara which had long been a French stronghold. War, indeed, was imminent all the time, and even Johnson Hall had its brick fort, which is still in existence, while the jail at Johnstown was built to also serve for defense. And now, we behold him in the fulness of an intense activity. He took no vacation, no respite from anxiety, and the thirty-six years of his American life were years of incessant toil and care, yes, one long and tremendous struggle, and as hard a life as ever an American endured before the days of Washington. Governor Tryon, indeed, in speaking of his arduous efforts in behalf of the Indians, called him the “slave of the savages,” and this was really the truth. But was not Tryon’s utterance a noble tribute to his worth?

Here is a brief picture of the toils and privations which he endured, which I find in a letter to the Governor dated May, 1748, only eight years after his arrival in America, showing how quickly he was pressed into the public service: “I am to acquaint you of my return from Onondaga after the most troublesome and fatiguing journey I ever undertook. I would have written sooner, but when the people heard of my return, my house was constantly full and continues so still, so that I have scarce a minute’s time to do anything; and then, the news of war with the French and an army coming against us, and the people flocking to me, and the women crying and begging for shelter, so that I have a most miserable life of it. I have received your order to employ

men to scour the woods, but they grumble at six pence a day and I have promised a shilling a day. I ask of your Excellency to forbid any more selling rum or spirituous liquors to the Indians under pain of a year's imprisonment." (Our temperance friends will learn from the above that Sir William was the first prohibitionist.) And this request was repeated in another letter to the Governor, in which he says: "Your honor must perceive that this selling rum to the Indians has ever been attended by fatal results, and at this juncture it is still worse. I do in the most earnest manner request your honor to urge the Assembly to pass a law with pains and penalties against the sale of rum to the Indians."

In another letter to the Governor he says: "I have now eleven hundred Indians with me. I made a speech and a very long one, in which I persuaded them by various arguments to comply with our requests. I am privately working with the sachems from morn till night, and the fatigue I have undergone has been too much for me. I am scarce able to support it, and I am in distress where to get food for such a number. They have consumed every green thing on my estate and have destroyed my meadows, but I must humor them at this critical juncture."

Again he writes: "I have invited the nations to a general meeting at my house, and am in hopes I shall be able to bring them heartily into our interests, but I fear I shall be distressed for want of provisions unless you can inform me where it can be bought."

A few weeks later he writes the Governor: "I have just got rid of all the Indians except one who stays to be cured of a bad leg. I had a prodigious trouble with them, but, thank God, the worry is over for a time. I have agreed with a blacksmith to go to the Senecas for six months for seventy pounds."

To illustrate Col. Johnson's conscientious discharge of his duties, I add the following extract from one of his letters to the Board of Trade: "I have endeavored to do my duty in the situation in which I am placed to the utmost of my abilities. I have neither spared myself day nor night, and have, indeed, greatly injured my health. I shall, however, rejoice if my con-

duct meets with your approval." Again he writes to the same board: "From the time I engaged in public service I wholly gave up my private business and my personal interests. I now devote my time and labor wholly to Indian affairs. At all meetings at my house those who attend are entertained at my expense, and when the meeting is at Oswego or Onondaga, the expense is increased as the journey is long and very fatiguing. One thousand pounds a year will not make up for what I sacrificed by assuming public business."

In another letter he writes: "Permit me to assure your lordship that I acted with uprightness of heart and with all the economy and diligence of my abilities to retrieve and extend his majesty's interest. I am sorry my efforts have not been as successful as I could have desired, but I do not think the Indians so culpable as some people do, but if I have erred in judgment, I have not been wanting in ardor for his majesty's success."

His desire to Christianize the Indians is shown by the following letter to the same board, dated only eight years after his arrival: "It will be necessary to provide every castle with a minister of the Gospel. Persons of unblemished character might be sent as chaplains of the garrison, and at the same time serve as missionaries to the Indians. How much may be done in that way may be gathered from the success the Gospel has had among the Mohawks. The Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, missionary to the Indians, has done everything in his power for the promotion of true religion, and as his salary is very small, some encouragement by addition to it would be of service. At this critical juncture the utmost attention should be paid to our Indian alliance, and I humbly propose a steady and uniform conduct. A religious regard to our engagements with them, a tender care to protect them and their lands, is the only effectual method to attach them firmly to the British interest."

In 1759, three years later, he wrote as follows: "I recommend an equitable, open and well-regulated trade with the Indians which will be the most natural and efficient means to extend his majesty's interest. The Indians ought to be compensated for the lands wrongfully taken from them. Missionaries of approved

abilities and zeal would be of unspeakable advantage to promote our interest among them. The Mohawks have had missionaries from the days of Queen Anne till within a few years, and now they are without any. I humbly recommend the King to give an allowance to so good a work. I have taken a great deal of pains to bring about a peace between the Delaware and Shawnees Indians, and I hope it is in a fair way of being accomplished."

Although it was not my purpose to treat of Sir William's military service, that having been ably done by others, I feel that justice requires a brief reference. In the midst of all his efforts for civilization, the French army is invading the very locality in which this audience is assembled, and under the pressure of necessity Col. Johnson is summoned to take chief command. Thus, he is now General Johnson, commander-in-chief of the British forces in the province of New York. And this, mark you, is the first time such a commission was issued by the British in the above-mentioned territory, and General Johnson was the first officer of that rank to be wounded in action.

Another important point is the fact that it was Braddock, the supreme military power in America, who made Col. Johnson a general and ordered him to fight at Lake George, while he (Braddock) should strike the enemy on the Pennsylvania frontier. Braddock is an educated soldier, but he is defeated and slain, while Johnson, who had no military education, triumphed. Braddock's defeat occurred in July, while Johnson conquered at Lake George in the following September. General Jackson, too, had no military education, but he always conquered. Some men are born to conquer. But how strange it seems that only seventeen years have elapsed since the obscure adventurer first entered the forest, and here he is at the head of an army.

The new general's war policy is evident from the following letter to the Governor: "I think our artillery too small and four more field pieces will be necessary, also four eighteen-pounders. Speedy reinforcements will be needful and I hope they will be sent. Our ammunition is rather short and our arms but indifferent, and we have many natural obstacles to meet. I now propose building a fortification for safe retreat in case we

find the enemy too strong; I think my troops animated with resolution and courage, and I hope they will prove themselves worthy of their country's confidence. I shall endeavor to the utmost to fulfill the duties of my station, and if we should not be so happy as to gratify the expectation of all, I hope we shall not deserve the reproach of any. Success is very precarious to the greatest human abilities, and is determined by that power which no mortal hand can resist. I hope the government will consider the naked state of the soldiers' families who will stand in need of clothes and bedding. Surely they deserve consideration and relief, and the colony needs no arguments to stimulate that. We are engaged in a righteous and glorious cause." And how remarkable it seems that this new general should be so rapidly rewarded by victory, one of whose results was the change in the name of the beautiful lake on whose banks that victory was won, as he says in his report: "The lake which the French call St. Sacrament I have given the name of Lake George in honor of his majesty and to establish his dominion here."

An interesting incident in this war is the fact that a number of patriotic women sent a large quantity of delicacies for the benefit of the soldiers, to which General Johnson thus replied: "Your generous humanity is gratefully applauded by all, and we pray that your benevolence may be returned to you by the Great Shepherd a hundred fold, and may those amiable housewives long continue to shine in their useful and endearing stations."

One reason for giving you the above incident is because it is the first instance of the kind I have found in American history, and also because the same sympathy and generosity was displayed by the patriotic ladies during the Civil War, in cheering the Union army with supplies of a similar character — and as one of that army I can bear witness to the gratitude of many a soldier, like that expressed by the hero of Lake George.

General Johnson's victory was rewarded by a baronetcy with the title of Sir William and a grant of £5,000, which hardly compensated for his losses in public service.

Peace generally permits the soldier to return to domestic life, but to Sir William Johnson it only brought additional work, and

the severity of its labors may be inferred from the following report of one of his journeys, written only five years before his death: "I left home June twenty-sixth, and after many delays, reached Onondaga in fourteen days, where I found the chiefs with others who were in great want of corn from the failure of the crops, and I gave them a supply. On returning from a private conference with the chiefs my canoe overset, and on ascending the bank I was severely injured by a fall on my wounded leg, which almost disabled me; but getting on a little better, I held a congress with them for two days. I next went to Seneca where I had summoned the chiefs of that nation, and was met by about 2,000 Indians. During my stay at Onondaga I met Indians from different nations, and after having settled matters I took leave and arrived home much indisposed; nor am I yet recovered from the hurt I received at Onondaga."

One of Sir William's greatest efforts, however, was to conciliate the Michigan Indians, for which purpose he journeyed to Detroit and held an important council. Modern tourists make the same distance and also return in less than three days, but Sir William found it a six-weeks' journey each way, and a hard one at that. While there, he became interested in the mineral wealth of that region, as is shown by the following extract from a letter to the Governor: "I have long since been well aware that there is not only a large quantity of copper ore on Lake Superior, but that it is extraordinary good and rich. I likewise made an estimate of transporting it, and it can be done with proper vessels." Sir William was thus the first to see the importance of what has since become so immense a feature of our national wealth.

We thus see that his daily life was one of unceasing labor, unrelieved by any recreation. All his distinction brings but increased bondage, every promotion brings added care. Now come the building of schools and churches, and great agricultural developments. The unceasing pressure of progress finally wears out this servant of the public, and he sinks beneath its burdens.

Much has been said of his fish house on the Sacandaga, some miles northeast of the city of Johnstown, but that I think is

entirely a myth. He had no time for fishing or any other amusement, and, indeed, had such been his desire, he would have found the Mohawk far more convenient and attractive. What he did build at Sacandaga was a fort for the protection of settlers, which he called "Castle Cumberland." It was destroyed during the Revolution, and then the new coming settlers invented the myth of the fish house.

Let us now look for a moment at the founding of Johnstown, which dates 1762, its inception being a baronial hall which was the grandest residence then in America. His purpose probably was, that his son, Sir John, who succeeded him at Mount Johnson, should be his lieutenant in the valley, while he himself established power in a new locality. At that time the entire territory west of the Hudson was Albany county, and he saw that the growth of population required a new county. He decided to make one, to be named after Governor Tryon, and planned Johnstown for its capital.

The jail and court house, both erected in 1772, are still monuments of Sir William, and like the hall, are still in service. St. John's church, which was another monument, was destroyed by fire in 1836, but there are some still living who can remember the sound of its bell, and also the ancient interior, with the wide door for the Indians, and its two stately pews, each with a canopy — one on each side of the pulpit — one for the king, and the other for the lord of the manor. Beneath this church was the family vault of which Sir William's remains were the sole occupant.

Let us now take a view of the two houses which Sir William erected, for, when a man builds a house it is often an indication of his character. The first house dates 1745, eight years after the arrival of the once obscure adventurer. This mansion which he sometimes called "Mount Johnson," and sometimes "Fort Johnson," was evidently intended for defense. The walls are of solid stone masonry and the windows could be used for musketry, while from the dormer windows in the roof a plunging fire could be maintained. It was, when erected, the only British fort in the State west of Albany except Oswego, and it now stands as

strong as when finished 157 years ago. There is not, indeed, a flaw in its massive walls, and its builder evidently planned it "not for a day, but for all time." Yes, and, if kept in repair, it will stand for ages, as a monument to the solid character of its founder.

The hall at Johnstown, on the other hand, was built during peace. The once obscure adventurer had become a baronet and the lord of a manor; hence its style is of a lordly character. It was not built for defense, as the two adjacent forts that flanked it were considered sufficient. It was located at a sufficient distance from the village to be surrounded by a park, and it was in reality the grandest baronial establishment in America, thus illustrating that high-toned character which marked Sir William in his latter days. I am happy to add that the present owner has a full consciousness of its historic value, and hence, welcomes all visitors, and the grand colonial mansion is enriched with many relics "of the times that tried men's souls."

Sir William's labors by this time had become so great as to awaken the fears of his friends, as is shown by the following extract from a letter written by Col. Duncan in 1770: "Sir William is sore failed. He is every now and then in a bad way. Wherefore is thought he can not last many years, which would be a great loss to mankind."

The war-worn baronet, however, had four additional years, but they were years of exhausting labor, and, conscious of the approaching end, he made his will, but still kept at work to the very last. And the end of this noble life came in the midst of an important service. An Indian council had been appointed at the hall and 600 were in attendance. Three days were devoted to hearing the complaints of the red men, and then Sir William replied in a long and comprehensive address, delivered at a time of such extreme heat that it proved a fatal effort, and he sank in a collapse which ended in death on the 11th day of July, 1774. He was really worn out in public service, dying, at last, in harness. The self-sacrificing devotion, indeed, with which he gave himself to the public weal, has no parallel except in Washington, and in each instance this devotion was the great object of existence,

Washington became the greatest of American citizens *after* the Revolution, but Sir William was the greatest of American citizens *before* it; and if Washington were "the father of his country," Sir William was certainly the father of that province which became the Empire State.

While thus portraying this wonderful man, we are aware of his errors, which can only be excused as belonging to the age in which he lived; and here we feel the power of that touching appeal with which Gray closes his immortal elegy, and which forbids us to "draw his frailties from their dread abode," but let them "in trembling hope repose" within "the bosom of his Father and his God." Coleridge uttered a similar prayer, and at the close of his life he craves forgiveness rather than fame. Sir William expresses his true feelings in his will, where he says: "I resign my soul to the great and merciful God who made it in hopes through the alone merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to have a joyful resurrection to life eternal."

The funeral was held on the 13th of July, 1774, and was the most imposing which had ever occurred in America. The remains were followed from the hall to the church by a great procession of true mourners, including the Indians, and were laid to rest in the family vault. In 1862, they were resurrected, and, being placed in a stone sarcophagus, were again interred, and the spot it still marked by a mound, but a more appropriate monument is expected, and the State of New York should be its donor.

Permit me, before closing, to draw a parallel between Sir William and a contemporary conqueror, Robert Clive, a youth who left Great Britain, but made India his field, while Johnson came to America. Clive was noted for his success, but also for his rapacity, and instead of building up India, he made it a field for plunder. He rose to supreme power, and also immense wealth, and then returned to London, a peer of the realm, but covered by the curses of a plundered nation; and, amid all this wicked success, came the horrors of conscience, and the knowledge that public opinion uttered its condemnation. Wealth and rank failed to compensate for a life of crime; and the same year Sir

William passed away amid the love and honor of his country, Lord Clive committed suicide in London.

This contrast has never been presented before, but it is too instructive to be lost. The one gratified a selfish ambition and the lust of gold, by tyranny and bloodshed, while the other so lived for his country and mankind, that, dying in their service, he recalls the words of the poet: "And like the sun, seems largest at his setting."

A MONUMENT FOR THE BATTLEFIELD OF WALLOOMSAC.

DR. WILLIAM OLIN STILLMAN.

C REASY, in his remarkable book on the fifteen great battles which have most affected the destiny of the human race within its historical period, includes the Battle of Saratoga. He regarded this as permanently settling the question of political independence and a republican form of government in the new world, and that the example of this successful experiment must have a great effect in determining the future of European political institutions. The Battle of Saratoga was regarded as the turning point of the American Revolution, and its importance has been justly commemorated by the erection of a splendid monument near the site of the battlefield.

One of the events of great importance in determining the successful issue of the Battle of Saratoga for the Americans was the British defeat at what has been frequently called the Battle of Bennington. This success of the Americans did much to encourage them on the now historic field of Saratoga and contributed not a little toward the success of the Continentals on that occasion. At the so-called Battle of Bennington, the British lost not only most valuable men and munitions of war, but also prestige, which at that period of the Revolutionary conflict was a matter of vast importance in determining the final issue. The men lost at this fight, which was really the preliminary skirmish of the Battle of Saratoga, just so much weakened and discouraged Burgoyne's army before its final and disastrous defeat.

The people of Vermont have shown their appreciation of the importance of this battle by erecting a great monument in the city of Bennington. There is something unique and extraordinary

in commemorating this event at Bennington. Curiously enough the battle was not fought in Vermont at all. Indeed, it was begun some nine miles away and finished not nearer than six miles to the city of Bennington. New Hampshire furnished three-fourths of the troops engaged on the American side and also the commanding general, the heroic Stark, and New York State furnished the reinforcements and fresh troops which probably decided the fate of the British on that memorable day. I am not aware of any precedent by which another State has hitherto claimed the glory and name of a battle which was not fought within its borders. I have no desire to detract in any way from the noble and patriotic part which Vermont took in the contest, or disparage the motives of her citizens in thus erecting their beautiful and attractive monument.

It has seemed proper that some suitable monument should be erected on the actual site of the battle field in New York State, as during the 126 years since the battle was fought no mark has been erected to indicate the scene of the encounter. It is right and proper that the patriotic sons and daughters of New York should unite in erecting a suitable memorial of this glorious event. The Hoosick Historical Society, of which I have the honor to be a member, and many citizens of New York State, have become interested in this project, and it has been resolved to incorporate a monument association for this purpose. The battle was fought wholly on the banks of the Walloomsac river and should be properly known as the Battle Walloomsac. The site of the battle is perfectly well known, and I have in my possession a copy of a map of the battlefield prepared under General Stark's personal supervision. General Stark himself referred to the battle "At Walloomsac." General Burgoyne speaks of the battle as at "Sancoik Mills" which was on the Walloomsac, and was where the fight first began. There is a large amount of documentary evidence to show that this is the proper and appropriate place at which to erect a monument to mark the actual site of the battlefield, and the members of the New York State Historical Society, as well as other historical societies elsewhere interested in such events, are invited to join with the Monument Association

in making the necessary efforts to provide the means for the erection of this monument whether it be by an appeal to Congress, the New York State Legislature, or through funds raised by private subscriptions.

Full information concerning the subject can be secured by addressing Mr. Nelson Gillespie, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Monument Association of the Battle of Walloomsac, Hoosick Falls, N. Y.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

HON. JAMES A. ROBERTS.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION is to be congratulated upon the fact that while comparatively small in numbers, it is strong in enthusiasm and determination. From the outset, those who have taken an active interest in the Society have felt that it has a rich field of its own without interfering with what seems to be the legitimate purpose and work of local historical societies. That feeling has strengthened with experience. Our field is rather to look at New York as a State and to study those questions and events that have contributed to make it a powerful commonwealth or affected its place in the sisterhood of States.

In all our national conflicts, excepting possibly the Mexican, our State has nobly borne her part. One-eighth of all who fought in the war of the American Revolution were from New York; in the war of 1812 nearly one-seventh and in the great struggle between the north and south more than one-sixth. As for the Mexican war, that New York failed to contribute her quota is not necessarily a matter of regret, as the judgment of impartial history seems to be that it was an instance of doing great wrong for the sake of great gain. But we are not confined in our efforts to what New York has done in the various wars in which she has borne so conspicuous a part. These great struggles, while vitally important, are really only incidents. Her history in times of peace is a part of the history of the progress of the country and of the world, and as such has living interest. Her rapid increase in population and wealth, the part she has borne in the great reforms of the day, in the elevation of manhood and womanhood, in the humanizing of the punishment of crime, and in the work of ameliorating the condition of the helpless and unfortunate, and her advance in morals and knowledge, and the

contributing causes and methods, are subjects richly worth the attention of the historical student. We do not realize the great changes in customs, thought and ideals until the comparison is brought home to us. Our records are full of these changes. It is interesting to recall the case of Dr. Nott and other earnest, patriotic, thinking men in urging upon the New York Legislature the passage of a bill to authorize public lotteries for the raising of funds for the promotion of educational and philanthropic work. The first moneys appropriated by this State for free public schools were raised by duly authorized and officially conducted public lotteries. Our present free school system with its magnificent appropriations came from such small and unhallowed beginnings. It is instructive to bring back the day when the punishment for debt was imprisonment, however trivial the debt, or the time when cruel and inhuman punishments were meted out for offenses against the law. Prof. McMaster, three years ago, showed us in clear light the marvelous changes that the century had wrought in the enlarging of the political rights and privileges of man. Its advance in civil and religious freedom has been equally marked. In nearly all civil, social and religious ideas the century wrought not a change, but a revolution, more sweeping than could be produced by war. The truth is, that the growth of a State in wealth and population, its changes in customs and laws, its advance along moral, sociological, educational and humane lines make up the most vitally important and interesting part of its history. Even its fads and its hobbies are important, for as the genial Lowell once said, "No field is so small or so barren, but that there will be grazing enough in it to keep a hobby in excellent case," and our State has been broad enough and varied enough to furnish grazing for many.

In a letter received not long since from Henry Adams, responding to a hope I had expressed that he would extend his delightful history of the country during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison so as to cover later administrations, he replied that in his judgment the time had not yet come to continue the work; that all of our history down to the Spanish war had been but a prelude to the history of the nation as a great world power

which is its manifest destiny; and that in order to treat intelligently the prelude we must know something of the rhythm and scope of the piece that follows. While it is undoubtedly true that history does need the mellowing and broadening effect of distance to make it a rounded and harmonious whole,—something more than a mere chronicle of events, yet the accurate preserving of the conditions and facts which the historian must use in his own good time is the duty of the day. Events in which we ourselves bear part and the changes which are taking place about us are very apt to seem so natural as to be unworthy of record. It may be, as has been said, that “to-day is the younger brother of yesterday,” but the family resemblance is often very dim. How gladly would we know more accurately how our forefathers lived, what they thought and believed; and is it not fair to presume that our descendants will look with the same eyes of curious longing toward the customs and thoughts and beliefs of to-day? But all of these things soon pass from the recollection and thought of man, and it is of vital importance to accuracy of statement and description that the record be early made. One might almost apply the words of Martial to this duty:

“To-morrow I will live, the fool does say;
To-day itself's too late,—the wise lived yesterday.”

These matters are not for local historical societies, but to recover and perpetuate them is pre-eminently the work of an organization like our own, whose historical limits and objects are so broad.

Before giving way to the program of the session, I desire to say that in my opinion this Society may well felicitate itself on the success of its annual meetings, and is justified in feeling a degree of pride in that through its efforts something has been added to the accurate knowledge of the questions presented, and a considerable put in shape to be recalled hereafter. But the Society is only at the beginning of its career, its work will spread out and increase as it goes on. Knowing the disinterested, public-spirited men who have thus far had in charge the work of the Society, I have no fears for the future that interest or zeal will be lacking in its fulfilling its destiny, which is to place before the citizens of our State authentic annals of its various past.

FRANCE AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

HON. JAMES BRECK PERKINS.

S URMISES as to what might have been are often interesting and usually unprofitable. Would the American colonies have succeeded in the war for independence, if they had not received aid in men and money from France? It is certain that with the growth of population in this country its people sooner or later would have become independent of foreign rule. But it was entirely possible that the struggle begun in 1775 should have ended in disaster, and the history and development of the United States have been different. Would the French Revolution have come in 1789 had it not been for the impression produced on French thought by the successful revolution in America, and the increasing embarrassment of the French treasury resulting from the cost of that war? Certainly the old regime could not have lasted much longer, but its overthrow might have been delayed and the catastrophe have assumed a different shape.

“Beyond question the alliance of France and the American colonies was of great importance for both nations, and it forms an interesting chapter in the history of our Revolution.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century one might have anticipated that France would take an important part in the development of the new world. French mariners had been among the early explorers of North America. Only a few years elapsed after the landing of Columbus in the West Indies when French fishing boats were found in large numbers off the coast of Newfoundland. The hardy mariners of Normandy and Brittany sailed each year across the Atlantic in search of fish, as their descendants do to this day.

In 1635, the settlement of Canada was begun by Jacques Cartier, and that country became a French province. French immigration was small, and the home government did little to encourage the growth of a prosperous colony, but French missionaries and explorers secured for their country claims of ownership over vast territories. The explorations of Joliet and La Salle carried the French lilies over the western prairies and the valley of the Mississippi. La Salle established a station by the banks of the Illinois.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the speculations of Law and the enterprise of the Mississippi Company gave a fresh impetus to French colonization. New Orleans was founded. The company asserted its sovereignty, not only over the valley of the Mississippi, but over all North America west of the Alleghanies, except in the extreme north, and in the ill-defined territory over which the Spanish claimed a shadowy jurisdiction.

Such were the conditions at the beginning of the Seven Years' War. That contest settled the question whether England or France should become the great colonial power of the world. Both in the east and the west France was forced to abandon her dreams of colonial empire. In India nothing remained to her but a few unimportant trading stations. Canada, the only portion of North America in which French colonization had assumed respectable proportions, was ceded to England, and the vague claims of empire in the west were transferred to Spain.

The French were a proud people, and for many centuries their military record had been marked by much glory and little shame. The defeat and the disgrace of the Seven Years' War left a consciousness of ignominy in every patriotic Frenchman, and a strong desire for revenge. It was natural, therefore, that the troubles in which Great Britain was involved with her American colonies should at once receive attention from France. The probable results of the insurrection in America were carefully considered by French statesmen, long before they excited any special interest in the French public, and they believed, as many in England herself believed, that the loss of the colonies would be a fatal blow to England's commercial power. "If the resistance of the

Americans is successful," wrote the French ambassador at London, "this will reduce England to a point where she can no longer cause disquietude, and the influence of France on the continent will increase in proportion to the enfeeblement of the British empire."

The Count of Vergennes was then the minister of foreign affairs in France, and more than any other one man he had to do with the relations between France and the Thirteen Colonies. It must be admitted that it was hatred of England rather than love for the colonists which led him to advise interference in their behalf. "England," he said, in one of his reports to the king, "is the natural enemy of France; an enemy greedy, ambitious, unjust and treacherous. The results of this war," he said again, "will reduce England to the condition of a second-class power; will strip her of the empire which she pretends to exercise over the four quarters of the earth with equal pride and injustice, and will deliver the universe from a greedy tyrant that wishes to absorb all power and all wealth." Writing again of the oppressive conduct of England, he said, "These truths turned my attention to the Americans; they made me watch the moment when your majesty could assist that oppressed people, with the well-founded hope of effecting their deliverance. If I had had other sentiments, I should have been unworthy to serve your majesty or bear the name of Frenchman."

Some Americans have been disturbed because the French ministers did not undertake a long and costly war with Great Britain solely from philanthropic motives. Even at the time of the Revolution some insisted that for that reason we owed no special debt of gratitude to the French people. It does not seem to me that this is so. Few go to war solely on behalf of others, and if a nation should adopt the practice, its hands would certainly be kept full. It is the business of rulers to look after the interests of those whom they govern, and it could hardly be supposed that the representatives of an absolute monarch would at once have been filled with zeal for the success of colonists who said they wanted no king, but would govern themselves.

Even if Vergennes and his associates were controlled by selfish policy in offering aid to the young republic, there is no doubt that among the French people there was a strong and sincere sympathy with the struggle of our forefathers for independence. If the ministers were selfish, the people were unselfish in their desire to insure the success of American independence. La Fayette was only the most prominent among those who were filled with zeal for the principles which our ancestors professed. The conditions of thought in France at the beginning of our Revolution were interesting, and, to some extent, unique. It was a period of hope and buoyancy of feeling, and those who believe that the world will improve are always the most willing to help along in the improvement. The new teachings of philosophic thought had found acceptance in all classes of French society. The general improvement in material conditions excited a feeling of hopefulness even in those whose lot was the worst. The enthusiasm of the French temperament was shown at its best in those golden years. All believed that to-morrow was to be as to-day and much more abundant; they were ready to accept new doctrines; they believed in the indefinite improvement of man's lot; they looked to a future in which religious toleration and political liberty would prevail. "We had no regret for the past," writes one of them, "and no inquietude for the future. We believed that we were entering a golden age and in the future we saw only the good that could be secured for humanity by the reign of reason." At just this time came the revolt of the American colonies. The conditions were exactly adapted to excite French sympathy; the simple manners of our ancestors, their unartificial existence, seemed idyllic to those wearied of the formal life of a court. The somewhat sounding generalities of the Declaration of Independence appealed to French modes of thought. If our Constitution was English our Declaration of Independence was French.

For a society such as this, the ideal representative was found in Franklin. Probably in the whole world there could not have been another man discovered so fitted for the work he had to do

as our minister at Paris. The simplicity of his dress, the shrewdness of his talk, the calm philosophy of his conduct, the dignity of his expression, all helped to give Franklin in France a position such as had been held by few Frenchmen and by no foreigner.

Count Segur has told us of the reception which the representatives of the Thirteen Colonies met with in France: "It would be difficult to describe the eagerness and delight with which the envoys of a people in a state of insurrection against their monarch were received in the bosom of an ancient monarchy. In the midst of the effeminate and servile refinement of the eighteenth century, they seemed like sages contemporary with Plato, or republicans of the age of Cato. Their appearance produced the greater effect in consequence of its novelty, coming at a period when literature and philosophy had excited an extraordinary desire for reform and a disposition to encourage any innovation." "Men imagined," writes another, "that they saw in Franklin a sage of antiquity come back to give austere lessons and generous examples to the moderns. They personified in him the republic of which he was the representative and the legislator; they regarded his virtues as those of his countrymen." "It was not strange, therefore, that after surreptitiously furnishing us with munitions of war for some years, in 1778 the French entered into a treaty of alliance with the United States by which they agreed to make no peace with England until our independence should be acknowledged. The terms of the treaty were certainly creditable to French generosity. We were in great need of an ally, and a nation as rich and powerful as France could have driven with us a hard bargain. But the French asked nothing in return for their aid, except trade privileges that should be equal to those of any other nation. This degree of fair treatment they might justly have claimed without going to war for us.

We will now consider for a moment the value of the aid we got from France, and whether our ancestors, left to themselves, would have been able to continue the war until England should acknowledge their independence. So far as the part taken in the war by French soldiers and sailors, with the exception of the closing scene, their action was not very important. But the

closing scene was at Yorktown, and, without the co-operation of the French navy and army, Washington would not have even attempted the capture of Cornwallis' army. Possibly the war would have been brought to a successful termination at some other time and place, but certainly not by the capture of Yorktown in 1781.

More important than the men France sent us was the money. The United States were in constant pecuniary need, and suffered from increasing financial complications. Little was contributed by the States, and our continental currency soon became worth not much more than the paper on which it was so freely printed. France was constantly asked for money, and constantly responded to the demands. From 1778 to 1782 she lent and gave us forty-three million livres, which was as much as forty-three million dollars now. And while this would not go far in modern warfare, it was incalculably important in the American Revolution. The number of soldiers was small, the cost of the war was comparatively light, but the men had to be clothed and fed, and the cost in some way to be met. Had it not been for the money that came from our ally, very probably the American army would have disintegrated and dispersed. Washington was a sagacious man, and certainly not a timid one, and yet he constantly anticipated such a calamity. A war cannot be carried on indefinitely with worthless paper bills, and the continental currency constituted about our only stock in trade. In our constantly increasing need the French were uniformly liberal. Certainly we had a negotiator of extraordinary parts in Franklin; in the history of the world there have been few more successful beggars, and certainly none more persistent. Whether the war was going well or ill, whether the French minister was pleased or displeased at the conduct of his allies, Franklin was equally persistent in asking for more money, and he rarely failed in his errand.

We may ask why the United States should have been in such financial straits, why it should have seemed probable that our forefathers, unless aided by a foreign power, would allow their army to disband, because they could not raise enough money to pay the soldiers and furnish them food and arms?

In the report which Franklin makes of one of his many begging trips to the Count of Vergennes, in which he had met with special difficulties, he adds the just reflection: "Our people certainly ought to do more for themselves. It is absurd, the pretending to be lovers of liberty while they grudge paying for the defense of it."

Similar complaints are often found in Washington's and Franklin's correspondence, and they suggest some reflections on American character and patriotism as they were displayed at the time of the Revolution and in the Civil War of the following century. Certainly it does not reflect unfavorably on the men of the Revolution if we find progress in succeeding generations. It would be a poor commentary on the liberty they established and the government they founded, unless their fruits were found, not merely in growth of population and increase of wealth, but in the development of national and individual character. The patriotism and devotion displayed by many in the Revolution must not blind us to the fact that many others showed little desire to devote themselves, and still less desire to devote their money, to their country's cause. It was the remissness of the States in furnishing money, as well as the difficulty in raising troops, which rendered the aid of France so indispensable to our success.

Doubtless there were many reasons which explain in part the scanty pecuniary assistance which the people of the Thirteen States were willing to give to the cause of their independence. The inability of Congress to impose taxes aggravated the situation; a strong central government could have adopted some system of taxation, and to this most would have submitted peacefully, if not willingly. The States themselves, if their legislators and their people had been actuated by a generous patriotism, could have done much to improve the situation. But not only was each State unwilling to contribute more than its share, but few showed any strong desire to do even that.

It is sometimes said that the poverty of the colonists rendered it impossible for them to raise the funds necessary to carry on the war, but this apology does not seem well founded. The financial needs of the Revolution were very small when compared

with the wars of to-day. The English probably had no more than 30,000 soldiers in America at any one time. It did not require a great army to contend successfully with such forces, and the colonists, though their wealth was insignificant compared with the present, were a prosperous and not a poor people. Issuing paper money that soon depreciated was an act of folly that brought ruin to many honest people and aggravated the difficulties of the situation. But to some extent Congress was driven to this measure, because it was impossible to raise money in any way, except by the printing press, and while paper money brought ruin to some, it furnished an opportunity for the rapid accumulation of wealth to others. The prosperity which had prevailed in America prior to the Revolution did not entirely vanish after the war began. On the other hand, there were displays of wealth and luxury which had formerly been infrequent. "The extravagant luxury of our country in the midst of all its distresses is to me amazing," wrote Franklin. "Every form of wastefulness and extravagance prevailed in town and country," says a historian, "luxury of dress, luxury of equipage, luxury of the table." Such conditions were not universal, but they were not uncommon.

It is impossible not to contrast the niggardliness displayed, not by all, but by a large proportion of the population, with the extraordinary liberality with which the entire community met the calls of the government when our national existence was in peril during the Civil War. An undue reverence for the past should not lead us to overlook the contrast and the reason for it. It would be sad, indeed, if a century of liberty and prosperity had not developed a broader and deeper love of country. At the time of the Revolution there was no country with great traditions to which patriotism could strongly cling, the new confederacy was an experiment, whose workings at the beginning were far from satisfactory. The United States of 1861 had a stronger hold on the affections of its citizens than the Confederacy of 1776. Moreover, the traditions of American life for two generations, the activity of business, the opportunities for the rapid accumulation of wealth, fostered the willingness, which is so strong an element in American character, to spend money without limit when the

end is worthy of the expenditure. No people has accumulated money with such success, no people expends it with such readiness. The vigor with which Americans seek to make money has led to the erroneous belief that they are, above other peoples, worshipers of the almighty dollar. The worshiper of the dollar is the man who will not spend it for a good cause, and no other people so little deserves to be reproached with that offense. Our ancestors had not learned that the value of money lies in the ability to do something with it; they had not developed that liberality of expenditure which is an element of American character, as it has been developed in a hundred years of national life. But if these qualities were not largely found in the Thirteen Colonies in 1775, theirs is the glory of founding a nation whose people have proved their willingness to sacrifice life and money to save the Republic.

Our allies sent us some articles of less value than guns or gold pieces; the supply of French volunteer officers far exceeded the demand. Great numbers of French officers applied for positions in the American army, partly from love of adventure and partly from the hope of glory or gain. The value of the services rendered by La Fayette may have consoled our ancestors for the embarrassment that was caused by many of his compatriots. These volunteers usually entertained an opinion of their merits which the facts did not justify. Silas Deane was our first representative in France; he was enthusiastic and inexperienced; almost every applicant he took at his own valuation and forthwith shipped him to America with an order on Congress to give him good pay and good rank. For the most part they would not have been valuable additions to any army, and they were specially unfitted for service in an army like that of the Thirteen Colonies. They knew little of our language, and less of our modes of life; they came over here imbued with notions obtained in campaigns in Flanders or by the Danube, and they wished to apply those to an army of backwoodsmen carrying on campaigns in a country which had just emerged from primeval wilderness. If commissions had been given to all those whom Deane sent over, there would have been hardly places left for Americans. But Congress very

discreetly shipped the most of them back, and when Franklin succeeded Deane in Paris he knew what the American army needed was not officers, but boots, and coats, and guns.

It was not strange that many of these adventurers honestly thought that men fit to command a regiment could hardly be found among semi-barbarians, such as they believed our forefathers to be. A curious illustration of this is found in the intrigues for sending over to this country Count Broglie to be the general-in-chief of our armies, and dictator of our destinies. He was a man of much ambition, some capacity, and a good deal of military experience. So ignorant were he and many of his associates of the character and condition of the American people that they supposed a foreign nobleman, who was willing to come over and act as our dictator, would receive a warm welcome. Baron Kalb, who himself did valuable work in the American army, really volunteered in the interests of Broglie. He was sent over as advance agent, to suggest, if the opportunity seemed favorable, that the struggling colonists might wisely avail themselves of the sagacity and military prowess of the Count, a man versed in warfare and accustomed to deal with great questions, and that if they should ask him to come to their aid, upon proper terms, he would be willing to comply.

Kalb soon discovered how preposterous was such a plan, and probably Broglie, in due time, admitted that Washington was as well fitted to be general-in-chief of the American army as he would have been himself.

We have recently been at war with Spain, and it is not without interest to investigate the part taken by that kingdom in the birth of our republic. The French were anxious to obtain Spain as an ally in their contest with England, and, if sufficient inducement could be held out as a reward for their assistance, the Spanish were willing to join in the war, but they would not bind themselves to render any aid to the revolted colonies. By the treaty between France and the United States it was agreed that peace should not be made until England acknowledged the independence of the colonies. To this condition the Spanish would not accede, notwithstanding all Vergennes' efforts. They looked upon the

birth of the new republic in America with an apprehension which subsequent history has shown to be entirely justified. "They do not view without disquietude," wrote the French ambassador, "the prosperity of the colonies, and fear they will prove to Spain an enemy far more dangerous than the English. They desire them to be so enfeebled by the war that they must accept the terms which Spain might dictate. These conditions would have kept them in anarchy, like Germany, and it is for this reason that the Spanish feel aggrieved towards us for treating with them."

Repeatedly the French ambassador wrote that an entire lack of sympathy with the American cause was the chief obstacle he met in his efforts to induce Spain to join in the war against England.

Vergennes sought to allay these fears, but what he said as to the probable future of the new republic does not disclose any prophetic ken. "Will not England be a more formidable neighbor," he writes, "than the United States for a long time, and probably forever; left to themselves and subject to the inertia which is the essence of all democratic institutions, it would be a mistake to be apprehensive of their future prosperity. I fear, rather, the anarchy into which the States may fall, when they enjoy the sweets of peace. It is enough to consider the extent of territory they occupy, the differences in climate, in industry, in soil, to understand that their union will never be perfect, even if they are not actually divided." "If we can believe Gerard," he writes again, "it will be a long time, even centuries off, before this Republic will have sufficient consistency to take any part in foreign politics."

But Vergennes' arguments did not convince the Spanish court. Neither among Spanish politicians, nor in Spanish society, nor in Spanish literature, did the struggle of the American people for independence excite sympathy. The teachings of French philosophers found no entrance into the kingdom of Philip II. The enthusiasm of Parisian society for liberty and progress found no echo in the palaces of Madrid. There were no young Spanish noblemen eager to follow La Fayette and assist in securing the

liberty of the young republic. The new wine of hope and progress which was making France drunk did not pass the Spanish frontier. When we compare the political beliefs and aspirations of the French under Louis XIV with those which found utterance under Louis XVI we seem to have entered a new world, but in its religious, or political, or social beliefs and sympathies it is hard to find any difference between Spain under Charles III and Spain under Philip II. Of the great literary activity in France, there was no trace in Spain. There was no encyclopedia, no scientific investigation, neither disciples of Voltaire nor disciples of Rousseau.

The treaty made by France with America, so the Spanish declared, was worthy of Don Quixote, and certainly Don Quixote's countrymen did not resemble that hero in their dealings with the colonies. Canada, they insisted, must be left to England, that the seeds of division and jealousy might remain between the United States and the mother country. The Americans were in sore need, and they must agree to such terms as France and Spain should dictate. Only thus, wrote the Spanish minister, could the colonies be kept in a dependence which would leave them in constant need of the assistance of the two crowns. These ungenerous suggestions found no echo among French diplomats; neither Vergennes nor his associates received them with favor. "I feel with some pain," writes the French ambassador at Madrid, "that the Spanish are in singular dread of the prosperity and progress of America. * * * To me it appears that the danger which may some day result from the prosperity of the United States is very distant."

But the timidity of Spanish statesmen made them true prophets. The success of the English colonies in shaking off their dependence on the mother country soon excited imitators in the countries subject to Spain in America, and finally the United States themselves have stripped Spain of her last possessions in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Many of the French who came over have left their impressions of the new people they discovered, and some of these are of interest. M. Chastellux tells us that all the American children were

spoiled by their indulgent parents. Similar complaints are made by foreigners even in our day. But he noted another thing that would not be said now. "Music and drawing," he writes, "are resources unknown in America. But," he adds, "we must hope in due time they will be acquired." He notices also, what I think is a characteristic of Americans to-day, though it is not always recognized, that they did not often question him as to his private affairs. He speaks of meeting some one who, he says, "inquired with curiosity who I was and what I was about to do, a thing which rarely occurs in America." He speaks also of a certain American lady, and he says "she was gay and even merry, a temperament very rare among American women." This would not be said to-day by any one familiar with our society. Indeed, we may sometimes doubt the accuracy of our writer's observations, because, in one place, he says that "the hares in America differ from those in Europe in that instead of digging burrows they make their homes in hollow trees, and these they climb like cats and often to a considerable height."

Another observer who was sent over by Vergennes to spy out the land, has told what he saw in the despatches sent to his employer. He was certainly wrong when he reported that the average American was not taller than the average Frenchman, and some of his other remarks may be no more accurate. "The Anglo-American," says the writer, "is fleshier than the Frenchman, without being taller. He is quite strong, of a robust constitution. His phlegmatic temperament renders him patient, deliberative and consistent in all his undertakings. At the same time characters differ according to the climate and temperature. Those who live north of the Delaware have more courage and energy; the rigid Presbyterian religion which prevails there strengthens this character; liberty is there carried to its maximum. The southern provinces below Pennsylvania accept a kind of subordination which naturally results from the great disproportion between fortunes, while the number of sects favors a sentiment of toleration. These causes, combined with the mild climate, render men less energetic and capable of enduring the fatigues of war; the northern man, indeed, clears and cultivates his ground

himself, while the southern man has his slaves do the work." There are some inaccuracies in this description of our ancestors, and I fear there is some truth in what the French representative wrote three years later. "I am sorry to be obliged to add, mon-seigneur, that personal disinterestedness and pecuniary integrity have shed no luster on the birth of the American Republic. All its agents have derived exorbitant profits from manufacturers. A selfish and calculating spirit is widespread in this land, and, although I can well see that limits are put to its extension, there is no condemnation of the sentiment. Mercantile cupidity forms, perhaps, one of the distinctive traits of the Americans, especially of the northern people, and it will, undoubtedly, exercise an important influence on the future destiny of the republic. If the English had shown themselves, in America, one-half as energetic, confident and courageous as they have only too often shown themselves elsewhere, they would have found very little resistance."

Doubtless these accusations were too general, but unfortunately they were not wholly slanders. Similar things were often said by Washington and Franklin, and we may be sure they advanced no charges against their countrymen, unless there was good evidence to support them.

There were, at the time of the Revolution, an unusual number of really great men in this country. It may be said that a great crisis gave them the opportunity to show what was in them, but, when we compare leading men, this little people of three millions produced more who have taken a prominent place in history than, with many times the population, the generation of our Civil War could exhibit. But when it comes to the moral and unselfish qualities of the community as a whole, Americans of the last fifty years have no reason to regard themselves as degenerate. If they were, we might well despair of the future.

Amid discouragements and difficulties, with money grudgingly given and hard to get, with soldiers ill-fed, ill-clothed and ready to quit their colors, the value of the assistance furnished by France cannot, I think, be over-estimated.

And when the surrender of Yorktown marked the close of the long struggle for American independence, the Stars and Stripes of America and the lilies of France waved together over the victorious army.

There can be no question as to the benefit which our country derived from the co-operation of French fleets, and from the inflow of louis d'or. What was the influence of our Revolution upon France is a question harder to answer. Few wars undertaken by the French people have been more popular than their interference in behalf of the American colonies. It was in France a period of enthusiasm, and this was a war of enthusiasm. In every salon and café the praises were sounded of the American insurgents, and of the institutions and principles for which they were contending. Writers likened them to the sages and patriots of old, politicians praised their wisdom, ladies of fashion talked about their "dear Americans."

It was impossible that all this should not have had its effect upon French thought. The bottles of the French political system were old, and new wine was poured into them very fast. Arthur Young, in 1787, found in all ranks a strong leaven of liberty "increasing every hour since the American Revolution." Even if the independence of the United States had been peacefully accorded and the French had taken no part in our struggle, the overthrow of the old political system in France was as certain to come as the succession of the geological eras; it might have come in different guise; it might have come later, but come it must. But the part which the French took in the American Revolution surely hastened the coming of revolution in their own land. Notwithstanding all the evils with which it was attended, the good it produced has far exceeded the harm it worked. I doubt if any sagacious Frenchman to-day regrets the action of his country in assisting to secure American independence, or laments because, after singing the praises of liberty in America, the French people were eager for liberty in France.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Association has received during the year past the following publications from the various sources mentioned below :

From Hon. Hugh Hastings, Volume VI of the Revolution Series, being the public papers of George Clinton, first Governor of New York; also four volumes of the Council of Appointment.

From the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, three copies of the Quarterly.

From Tuft's College, Catalogue for 1903 and 1904.

From the Minnesota Historical Society, "Early Empire Builders of the Great West."

From the Long Island Historical Society, "The Voyage of Verrazzano."

From the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Mass., Proceedings for the Year 1903.

From the Vermont Historical Society, Proceedings for the Years 1901 and 1902.

From the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Report Presented at the Annual Meeting, 1902.

From the West Virginia Historical Society, the West Virginia Historical Magazine.

From the Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, Annual Report, 1902.

From the New York Historical Society, Charter and By-Laws, List of Members, Report of the Executive Committee and Communication to the Members from the Building Committee.

From the Louisiana Historical Society, Synopsis of the History of Louisiana.

From Leland Stanford, Jr., University, Register for 1902 and 1903.

From the Century Association, List of Members, etc.

From Columbia University, Catalogue 1900 and 1901.

From the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, Transactions Number Ten.

From the Essex Institution, Mass., Volume 39.

From the Chicago Historical Society, Report of the Annual Meeting, November, 1902.

From the Pennsylvania Society of New York, Year Book for 1903.

From the Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract No. 90 in Volume IV.

From the Society of American Authors twelve issues of the "American Author."

From the Norfolk Historical Society, Dedication of the Norfolk County Court House.

From the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, The Iowa Journal of History and Politics.

Societies receiving the Proceedings of the Association are requested to exchange.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,
Secretary.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

We, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, and Elmer J. West, of Glens Falls; Grenville M. Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill, and Morris P. Ferris of Dobbs Ferry, all in the State of New York, and all of us citizens of the United States, have associated ourselves together in a membership corporation, and do hereby make this our certificate under the laws of the State of New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is Warren, Washington, Essex, Clinton, Saratoga, and Hamilton counties, in the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at Caldwell, on Lake George, county of Warren, in the State of New York.

The number of directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

James A. Roberts,	Buffalo.
Timothy L. Woodruff,	Brooklyn.
Daniel C. Farr,	Glens Falls.
Everett R. Sawyer,	Sandy Hill.
James A. Holden,	Glens Falls.
Robert O. Bascom,	Fort Edward.
Morris Patterson Ferris,	Dobbs Ferry.
Elwyn Seelye,	Lake George.

Grenville M. Ingalsbe,	Sandy Hill.
Frederick B. Richards,	Ticonderoga.
Anson Judd Upson,	Glens Falls.
Asahel R. Wing,	Fort Edward.
William O. Stearns,	Glens Falls.
Robert C. Alexander,	New York.
Elmer J. West,	Glens Falls.
Hugh Hastings,	Albany.
Pliny T. Sexton,	Palmyra.
William S. Ostrander,	Schuylerville.
Sherman Williams,	Glens Falls.
William L. Stone,	Mt. Vernon.
Henry E. Tremain,	New York.
William H. Tippetts,	Lake George.
John Boulton Simpson,	Bolton.
Harry W. Watrous,	Hague.
Abraham B. Valentine,	New York.

The first meeting of the corporation, for the purpose of organization, will be held on the 21st day of March, 1899.

The time for holding the annual meeting of the said corporation will be the last Tuesday in July of each year.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto severally subscribed our names and affixed our seals this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

DANIEL C. FARR,	(L. S.)
JAMES A. HOLDEN,	(L. S.)
ELMER J. WEST,	(L. S.)
GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,	(L. S.)
MORRIS P. FERRIS,	(L. S.)

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
 County of Warren, } ss.:

On this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, before me personally appeared Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Elmer J. West, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and Morris Patterson Ferris, to me known to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing articles of incorporation, and they duly severally acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

[SEAL.]

E. T. JOHNSON,
Notary Public.

CHARTER OF NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS, A petition for incorporation by the University has been duly received, containing satisfactory statements made under oath as to the objects and plans of the proposed corporation, and as to the provision made for needed buildings, furniture, equipment, and for maintenance.

THEREFORE, Being satisfied that all requirements prescribed by law or University ordinance for such an association have been fully met, and that public interests justify such action, the Regents by virtue of the authority conferred on them by law, hereby incorporate James A. Roberts, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Morris Patterson Ferris, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Anson Judd Upson, Robert C. Alexander, Hugh Hastings, William S. Ostrander, William L. Stone, William H. Tippetts, Harry W. Watrous, William O. Stearns, Timothy L. Woodruff, Everett R. Sawyer, Robert O. Bascom, Elwyn Seelye, Frederick B. Richards, Asahel R. Wing, Elmer J. West, Pliny T. Sexton, Sherman Williams, Henry E. Tremain, John Boulton Simpson, Abraham B. Valentine, and their successors in office under the corporate name of

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

This corporation shall be located at Caldwell, Warren county, New York.

Its first trustees shall be the twenty-five above-named incorporators.

Its object shall be to promote historical research, to disseminate knowledge of the history of the State by lectures and publications, to establish a library and museum at Caldwell, to mark places of historic interest, and to acquire custody or control of historic places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The Regents grant this charter, No. 1,245,
under seal of the University, at the Capitol at Albany, April 24,
[SEAL.] 1899.

ANSON JUDD UPSON, *Chancellor.*

MELVIL DEWEY, *Secretary.*

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This Society shall be known as "New York State Historical Association."

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

ARTICLE III.

Members.

Section 1. Members shall be of three classes — Active, Corresponding, and Honorary. Active members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside of the State of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

ARTICLE IV.

Management.

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by, a Board of Trustees to be elected

by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose term then expires.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association, except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number, at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association, and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VI.

Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to Active Membership shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum, for his or her annual dues.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member, exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold perpetual memberships shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The Board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the nonpayment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for nonpayment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees, and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the reading of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

ARTICLE VIII.

Seal.

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. Wm. Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.

ARTICLE IX.**Amendments.**

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of two-thirds of those present at a duly-constituted meeting of the Association.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

ARTICLE II.

Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meetings of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

ARTICLE III.

President.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association or the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

ARTICLE IV.

Vice-Presidents.

The Vice-Presidents shall be denominated First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice-President present.

ARTICLE V.**Treasurer.**

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting, and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurer-elect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the Association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.**Secretary.**

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.**Executive Committee.**

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such Committee shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power to establish or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.**Procedure.**

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the Association, shall be the order of business at the annual meetings of the Association:

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and acting thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such Committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the Secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each member by the Secretary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fails for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly-constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken.

MEMBERS NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

HONORARY MEMBER.

* Dr. Edward Eggleston, Joshua's Rock, N. Y.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Berthold Fernow, Trenton, N. J.

LIFE MEMBERS.

W. K. Bixby,	Bolton, N. Y.
Mrs. Marcellus Hartley,	232 Madison Ave., N. Y. City.
Mrs. Oliver Livingston Jones,	116 W. 72d St., N. Y. City.
Mrs. Horace See,	50 W. 9th St., N. Y. City.
Gen. Henry E. Tremain,	146 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Dr. W. Seward Webb,	51 E. 44th St., N. Y. City.
Samuel P. Avery,	4 E. 38th St., N. Y. City.

MEMBERS.

* Alexander, Robert C.	New York.
Allen, Frank S.	116 W. 45th St., N. Y. City.
Allen, Hiram	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Arthur, Miss L. Louise	Woodside, L. I.
Barber, Junius E.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Bascom, Robert O.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Bassinger, George H.	Glens Falls, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Batcheller, George Clinton	237 W. 72nd St., N. Y. City.
Benedict, George Grenville	Burlington, Vt.
Bishop, Charles F.	67 Wall St., N. Y. City.
Blake, Rev. Charles W.	Lake George, N. Y.
* Bloodgood, Dr. Delevan	320 Clermont Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brackett, Hon. E. T.	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Brandow, Rev. John H.	Schuylerville, N. Y.
Bullard, Dr. T. E.	Schuylerville, N. Y.
Burdge, Franklin	325 W. 57th St., N. Y. City.
Burleigh, Brackett W.	Whitehall, N. Y.
* Burleigh, H. G.	Whitehall, N. Y.
Burnham, George	3401 Powelton Ave., Philadel- phia, Pa.
Carter, Robert C.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Chapman, W. J.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Cheney, Dr. Francis L.	Cortland, N. Y.
Clark, Dr. H. E.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Cole, Norman	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Conway, John B.	Argyle, N. Y.
Cook, Dr. Joseph Tottenham	636 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Cooley, James S., M. D.	Glen Cove, N. Y.
Coolidge, Thomas S.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Cornell, S. Douglas	Cobourg, Ont.
Cullinan, Hon. Patrick W.	Albany, N. Y.
Cunningham, Col. J. L.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Day, Benjamin	Hague, N. Y.
DeLong, C. J.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Demuth, William	507 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Denham, Edward	New Bedford, Mass.
Denton, Mrs. Elizabeth B.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Derby, Hon. John H.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Doane, Rt. Rev. W. C.	Albany, N. Y.
Doolittle, C. M.	Schuylerville, N. Y.
Durkee, James H.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Dwyer, John	Sandy Hill, N. Y.

*Deceased.

* Farr, Dr. Daniel C.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Ferree, Barr	7 Warren St., N. Y. City.
Ferris, Morris Patterson	676 West End Ave., N. Y. City.
* Ferriss, George M.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Fitch, Charles E.	Department Public Instruction, Albany, N. Y.
Fowler, Albert N. C.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Gillespie, Nelson	Hoosac Falls, N. Y.
Gilman, Hon. Theodore P.	425 West End Ave., N. Y. City.
Griffith, Prof. E. W.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Hall, Fred J.	Tarrytown, N. Y.
Halsey, Francis W.	146 W. 119th St., N. Y. City.
Hastings, Hon. Hugh	Albany, N. Y.
Hatch, Rev. W. H. P.	Hartford, N. Y.
Hayden, Henry W.	120 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Heilner, Samuel	Broad and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
Higgins, Hon. Frank W.	Olean, N. Y.
Hitchcock, Hon. Charles H.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Hobbie, Hon. William R.	Greenwich, N. Y.
Holden, James A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Howard, Hon. Harry A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
* Howland, L. M.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
* Hoyt, Charles A.	New York City.
* Hutchins, Mrs. Waldo	Kings Bridge, N. Y.
Ingalls, George A.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Ingalsbe, Hon. Grenville M.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Ingalsbe, Miss Myra L.	Hartford, N. Y.
Ingraham, Dr. Charles A.	Center Cambridge, N. Y.
Keating, James D.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Kellogg, Rev. Dr. Charles D.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Kellogg, J. Augustus	Glens Falls, N. Y.
King, Charles F.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
King, Rev. Dr. Joseph E.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Kline, William W.	725 N. 5th St., Reading, Pa.
Knapp, George O.	Lake George, N. Y.
Kneil, T. R.	Saratoga, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Langdon, Andrew	Buffalo, N. Y.
* Lansing, Abraham	Albany, N. Y.
Lansing, Mrs. Abraham	115 Washington Avenue, Albany, N. Y.
Lapham, Byron	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Larned, J. W.	35 Johnson Park, Buffalo, N. Y.
Lester, C. C.	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Little, Dr. George W.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Little, Russell A.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
* Lupien, Frederick G.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Lyttle, Dr. E. W.	Albany, N. Y.
Maney, J. A.	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Mann, William D.	Hague, N. Y.
Marsh, Wallace T.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Martine, Dr. G. R.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
* Marvin, Hon. J. M.	Saratoga, N. Y.
Mather, Irwin F.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Matthews, George E.	Buffalo, N. Y.
McAneny, George	19 E. 47th St., N. Y. City.
McArthur, Hon. Thomas W.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
McCarthy, James	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
McLean, Mrs. Donald	186 Lenox Ave., N. Y. City.
Melick, Dr. W. B.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Melville, Rev. Ernest	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Meredith, Miss Louise Harden- burgh	San Luis Obispo, Cal.
Messer, L. Franklin	403 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Michael, Edward	741 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Mills, Col. Stephen C., U. S. A.	Omaha, Neb.
Moore, Commodore John W.	Bolton Landing, N. Y.
* Morgan, Hon. William J.	Albany, N. Y.
Noble, A. R.	Caldwell, N. Y.
Noble, Mrs. A. R.	Caldwell, N. Y.
Noyes, H. C.	Lake George, N. Y.
O'Brien, Hon. John F.	Plattsburgh, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Payne, Silas H.	Silver Bay, N. Y.
Peck, Reuben N.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Pell, Howland	7 Pine St., N. Y. City.
Potter, Delcour S.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Pryor, Charles	New Rochelle, N. Y.
* Putnam, Hon. John R.	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Ransom, Frank H.	137 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Ransom, Hon. Rastus S.	128 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Raymond, Rev. Dr. A. V. V.	Schenectady, N. Y.
Reid, W. Max	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Reid, Hon. Whitelaw	New York City.
Richards, Frederick B.	Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Richardson, Rev. G. L.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
* Richmond, A. G.	Canajoharie, N. Y.
Roberts, Hon. James A.	1115 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Roberts, Mrs. James A.	1115 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Roberts, Joseph Banks	1115 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Roe, Mrs. Charles F.	35 E. 37th St., N. Y. City.
Sanford, Clarence T.	Lake George, N. Y.
Sawyer, Rev. Dr. Everett R.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Sawyer, W. L.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Schuyler, Miss Fanny	New Rochelle, N. Y.
Seelye, Elwyn	Caldwell, N. Y.
Seymour, Hon. Julius H.	304 W. 86th St., N. Y. City.
Sexton, Hon. Pliny T.	Palmyra, N. Y.
Sexton, Mrs. Pliny T.	Palmyra, N. Y.
Shephard, Edward M.	Caldwell, N. Y.
Sherman, Mrs. Roger M.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Sidway, Mrs. Frank St. John	676 West End Ave., N. Y. City.
Simpson, John Boulton	1170 Broadway, N. Y. City.
Smith, T. Guilford	Buffalo, N. Y.
* Spier, William E.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Stearns, Rev. W. O.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Stevens, Benjamin F.	Boston, Mass.
Stevens, Rev. Dr. C. Ellis	2227 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.

*Deceased.

Stieglitz, Edward	Bolton, N. Y.
Stillman, Dr. William Olin	287 State St., Albany, N. Y.
Stoddard, S. R.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
* Stone, Charles	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
* Stone, Mrs. Charles	Sandy Hill, N. Y.
Stone, Col. William L.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
* Stryker, Gen. William S.	Trenton, N. J.
Thayer, Hon. Stephen H.	Yonkers, N. Y.
Tippetts, Col. W. H.	Caldwell, N. Y.
* Valentine, Abraham Bates	New York City.
Vann, Hon. Irving G.	Syracuse, N. Y.
Vanderpoel, Miss Mary Van Buren	139th St. and 7th Ave., N. Y. City.
Van Wormer, Rodney	Argyle, N. Y.
Vynne, Mrs. Emma M.	Hague, N. Y.
Wakeman, Abram	136 Front St., N. Y. City.
Wallander, A. W.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Warren, E. Burgess	Lake George, N. Y.
Warren, H. P.	Albany, N. Y.
Watrous, Harry W.	Hague, N. Y.
Watrous, Mrs. Harry W.	Hague, N. Y.
Webster, Dr. W. B.	Schuylerville, N. Y.
Weeks, William R.	11 Broadway, N. Y. City.
West, Chandler A.	Caldwell, N. Y.
West, Elmer J.	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Wheelock, Charles H.	Albany, N. Y.
Wicker, Miss Julia Frances	Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Williams, Charles H.	690 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Williams, Dr. Sherman	Glens Falls, N. Y.
Wilson, Henry Applegate	574 Madison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Wing, Asahel R.	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L.	8th Ave. and 18th St., Brook- lyn, N. Y.
Wright, Miss Abbie A.	Sandy Hill, N. Y.

*Deceased.

The Secretary will thank the members for corrections in this list.

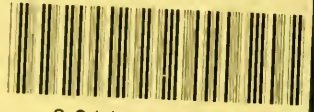








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